THE "CIBORIUM" IN CHRISTIAN ARCHITECTURE
AT ROME, 300-600 A.D.

by

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

INTRODUCTION 1

PART I. THE EVIDENCE

Chapter

One: EVIDENCE OF CANOPIES DONATED BY CONSTANTINE THE GREAT. 11

- 1. Funerary Canopies. 11
  - a. St. Peter's Basilica 11
  - b. Constantinian Martyrium of St. Lawrence 24
  - c. The Holy Sepulchre 32
- 2. *Fastigium* at the Constantinian Basilica of the Saviour (the Lateran) 48

Two: LATE FOURTH TO MID-FIFTH CENTURY 91

- 1. Catacomb Church and Chapel Canopies. . 91
  - a. St. Alexander, Via Nomentana . . . 92
  - b. SS. Nereus and Achilleus at the Catacomb of Domitilla. 103
  - c. Basilica of SS. Simplicius, Faustinus, and Viatrix at the Catacomb of Generosa 116
  - d. Fragments from Other Catacombs . . 125
    - (1) Memoria of SS. Felix and Philip 125
    - (2) S. Agnese f.l.m. 133

Table of Contents (continued)

Chapter Page

(3) S. Ermete at the Catacomb of Basilla. 143
(4) Catacomb of Zoticus on the Via Labicana. 147

2. Fountain Canopies. 149

a. *Cantharus* in the Atrium of St. Peter's. 150
b. Nympheum in the Atrium of the Oratory of the Holy Cross next to the Lateran Baptistery. . . . 159

Three: SYMMACHUS TO GREGORY THE GREAT 164

1. Altar Canopies 164

a. S. Andrea next to St. Peter's. . . 164
b. SS. Sylvester and Martin 170
c. S. Clemente. 174

2. Remodelling of the Confession at St. Peter's. 180

PART II: CONCLUSIONS

One: THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ALTAR CANOPY AT ROME AND IN ITALY 186

1. Constantinian Canopies 186

2. Canopies of the Late Fourth and Fifth Centuries. 207

3. Canopies from the Reign of Symmachus to Gregory the Great 229

Two: FOUNTAIN AND FONT CANOPIES IN ITALY. 253

1. Fountain Canopies. 253

2. Baptistery Canopies. 259

Table of Contents (continued)

Chapter Page

PART III: THE "CIBORIUM" AS THE TABERNACLE OF THE NEW LAW, A HYPOTHESIS

One: THE PLACE OF THE RESURRECTION AND ITS DECORATION 267

Two: THE FOUNTAIN OF LIFE 286

Three: ALTAR CANOPIES IN THE EAST 304

Four: ALTAR CANOPIES IN THE WEST 325

APPENDIX A 350

APPENDIX B 354

BIBLIOGRAPHY 360

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS. 378

INTRODUCTION

Many scholars have studied the ciborium in Christian architecture. Lexicons and Dictionaries[1] have presented listings of known canopy structures in Early Christian art and architecture with as complete as possible descriptions of the forms and materials involved. These listings are valuable and helpful in themselves, but they are not accompanied by adequate analyses of those traditions in Christian thought that would make the structure suitable and significant for use in Christian churches. Undoubtedly the forms were borrowed from antique and pagan sources. But what caused the clergy or faithful to choose certain types of forms above others?

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[1] Th. Klauser, art. "Ciborium" in Reallexikon für Antike und Christendom, Stuttgart, 1950, Vol. I, p. 68f and K. Wessel, art. "Ciborium" in Reallexikon zür Byzantinischen Kunst, I, Stuttgart, 1966, pp. 1055-65, have provided the most complete treatment. Other studies include F. Cabrol & H. Leclercq, Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie, art. "Ciborium," Vol. 3, p. 2, Paris, 1912; C. Du Cange, "Ciborium" in Glossiarum Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis, London, 1883; C. Rohault de Fleury, La Messe, Paris, 1883, Vol. II; A. Martigny, art. "Ciborium," Dictionnaire des Antiquités Chrétiennes, Paris, 1889.

For what specific reasons did the early Church use these forms?

Some scholars have attempted to answer these questions in general terms. E. Baldwin Smith,[1] for instance, in tracing the significance of the dome through the ages, has pointed out the cosmic significance of that form. This significance, no doubt, played a part in the adoption of the canopy by the early Church. But was it the sole and primary significance involved? Were there not more particular circumstances that prompted the adoption of the canopy?

Other studies have brought out the significance of the canopy in relation to various particular aspects of Christian architecture. J. Braun[2] has studied the canopy in relation to the altar; F. Wieland[3] in relation to the altar and the graves of martyrs; Th. Klauser in relation to manuscript illumination.[4] The canopy in the *martyrium* and the canopy in the Baptistery are subjects considered by A. Grabar[1] and P. Underwood[2] respectively. Brief discussions of the canopy have also appeared in monographs or excavation reports on particular Christian churches or monuments.[3] In addition, H. P. L'Orange, Klauser, and R. Egger have suggested a relationship between canopies placed over the thrones of temporal rulers and those in Christian churches.[4]

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[1] *The Dome*, Princeton University, 1950, p. 79.

[2] *Der Christliche Altar*, München, 1924, Vol. II.

[3] *Altar and Altargrab*, Leipzig, 1912.

[4] Th. Klauser, "Das Ciborium in der älteren christlichen Buchmalerei" in *Nachrichten* der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, 1961, Nr. 7.

All of these studies together introduce some of the complexities of the problem. The first of these complexities is that the canopy in Christian architecture was apparently not adopted for one purpose alone, but for several. A second complexity concerns the derivation of the various types of canopies from earlier traditions and the question of why Christian thought might justify the choice of such forms.

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[1] *Martyrium*, Paris, 1946, Vol. II, c. 7.

[2] "The Fountain of Life in Manuscripts of the Gospels" in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, No. 5, Harvard Univ., 1950, pp. 43-138.

[3] As, for example, in the study of St. John's at Ephesos: *Forschungen in Ephesos*, Wien, 1951, Band IV, h. 3, *Die Johanneskirche*, p. 174, n. 93.

[4] Klauser, *Reallexicon*, I, p. 78f; H. P. L'Orange, *Studies in the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship in the Ancient World*, Oslo, 1953, p. 134f; R. Egger, *Das Goldkreuz am Grabe Petri* in Oesterreichischen Ak. der Wissenschaften, Phil. hist. Klasse, 1959, No. 12, p. 190f.

A third complexity can be found in the word *ciborium* itself. Christian canopies are generally considered in Dictionaries and Lexicons under the heading "Ciborium." But according to the original significance of the word the canopies listed and described may not have been *ciboria* at all.

It is significant that the word *ciborium* does not appear in documentary sources before the 6th century. The author of the *Vita* of Gregory the Great in the *Liber Pontificalis* uses it to describe the canopy which was at that time set up over the main altar at St. Peter's in Rome.[1] In the East, John of Malalas had used a similar word in Greek, κιβόῡριον, around 565 A.D. to describe what was probably a canopy structure over an altar.[2] It is generally assumed that the Latin word *ciborium* was derived from the Greek κιβώριον which signifies "vessel" or "cup."[3]

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[1] See Part I, p. 181 below.

[2] See Part III, p. 344 below.

[3] See C. Daremberg & E. Saglio, art. "Ciborium" in *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*, Paris, 1887, Vol. I, pt. 2, col. 1171; Du Cange, *op. cit.*; Martigny, *op. cit.*; *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, Lipsiae, 1907, III, p. 1038. The word originally seems to have signified a certain kind of leaf or flower that was shaped like a vessel.

The etymology of the word in Greek or Latin is far from clear.[1] It was used by John Chrysostom in the late 4th century to describe what sounds like a small silver shrine or aedicula to the Goddess Diana at Ephesus.[2] Was, then, the word adopted to signify a "shrine"? It was also used in the 10th century to describe what was probably a canopy erected over the throne of the emperor in the *consistorium* of the royal palace at Constantinople.[3] Some scholars have suggested that the word may not actually be of Greek origin.[4] It may instead have been based on Near Eastern or Hebrew words first transcribed into Greek and then into Latin. This possibility will be presented in Part III of this study with supporting evidence.

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[1] See Klauser, *Reallexicon*, I, p. 68f; Braun, *op. cit*., II, p. 193; A. Heisenberg, *Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche*, Leipzig, 1908, Vol. I, p. 218f.

[2] See Part III, p. 347 below.

[3] See Part III, p. 346 below and A. Alföldi, "Insignien und Tracht der römischen Kaiser" in *Roemische Mitteilungen*, Band 50, 1935, p. 130.

[4] See R. Eisler, *Orphisch-Dionysische Mysteriengedanken in der Christlichen Antike*, 1922-23, pp. 193-97; J. J. Reiskii *Commentarium on De Cerimoniis Aulae Byzantinae* of Constantinus Porphyrogenitus in Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, 112, col. 317, n. 29 and Braun, *op. cit*., II, p. 193. The fact that H. Stephanos, *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, omits the word suggests that perhaps the word does not have a Greek origin.

Before the 6th century, authors of documentary source material employed other terms to describe canopy structures. In the Liber Pontificalis, under the Vita of Symmachus (498-514), one finds the word tiburium (or tegurium).[1] Still earlier, Paulinus of Nola used the words tholus[2] and turris[3] to describe canopies over fountains in the atria at St. Peter's, Rome and Nola respectively. The Liber Pontificalis also employed the word fastigium to describe a structure of uncertain purpose and design at the Lateran basilica in Rome, both in the early 4th century and in the mid 5th century.[4] And, whereas it is known from excavations and other sources that a canopy stood over the grave of St. Peter at St. Peter's basilica in Rome in the early 4th century, the entry in the Liber Pontificalis under Pope Silvester speaks only of "columns" but does not describe a canopy as such.[5]

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[1] See Part I, pp. 164 f. below.

[2] See Part I, pp. 151 f. below.

[3] See Part II, p. 254 below.

[4] See Part I, pp. 48 f. below.

[5] See Part I, pp. 14 f. below.

It seems to me significant that almost all the terms cited in the above paragraph are descriptive. *Tegurium* specifies a small "house" or "hut." *Tholus* and *turris* describe a "vault" and "tower" respectively. Paul the Silentiary in the 6th century had also employed the word *πύργος* to describe the "tower" of the canopy that stood over the main altar in Hagia Sophia at Constantinople.[1] The term *fastigium* signifies a pedimental form, although it may also have had other connotations, as shall be suggested below. And finally the canopy at St. Peter's, like the one at the Tomb of Christ in the early 4th century when it was described by Eusebius,[2] had no name or title at all. The structures were only described in terms of some of their component parts. Thus there seems to be no specific term for a Christian canopy in the 4th and 5th centuries. These structures were specified only by terms which described in some manner their shapes, parts, or roofs. But, by the mid 6th century, the words κιβοῦριον, κιβώριον, or *ciburium* seem to have become accepted terms for canopy structures. These words were independent of descriptive terms and probably designated in some way the significance of the form. Thus Christian canopies before the 6th century should probably not be called by the name *ciborium*, because they may not have possessed the true attributes of a *ciborium* in the sense that the term was devised by the mid 6th century. Thus I shall throughout this study use the word "canopy" instead of *ciborium*.

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[1] See Part III, p. 310 below.

[2] See Part I, p. 33 below.

This study will attempt to isolate some of the concepts that stand behind the Christian canopy and present new problems on the subject that might be considered. It will begin with a thorough review of the use of canopy structures in one ecclesiastical center: Rome. The purpose of this concentrated view is to consider the sources of the structure in relation to canopies of classical Rome and to discover as nearly as possible the development and significance of the canopy in that particular area. The evidence for canopy structures begins, of course, with the freedom of the Church under Constantine the Great. Evidence from the rest of Italy will also be presented in conjunction with that from Rome. Data on canopies in monographs on a particular church or excavation reports, are, of course, indispensable to the compilation of evidence for a study such as this.

Using the Roman development as a point of departure, I shall in the last part of this study examine a few examples of canopy structures in the East (notably from Greece, Constantinople, Palestine, Syria, and Egypt) in order to compare and contrast these examples with the evidence from Rome. I shall also introduce literary evidence from the writings of the Church fathers in support of suggestions that I would make concerning a possible relationship between the different "types" and purposes of the canopies considered in both East and West.

The research for this study was begun in 1955-56 in New York City at N.Y.U. Institute of Fine Arts, was continued at Rome on a Fulbright Grant at the libraries of the Vatican, the Pontifical Institute of Christian Archeology, and the American Academy during 1957-58, and was completed at the Cornell University library between 1959-64. The whole dissertation was carried out under the guidance of Prof. Richard Krautheimer. While at Rome, I consulted Mr. J. B. Ward Perkins, Fthr. Guy Ferrari, and Prof. Enrico Josi, and at Ravenna, G. Bovini. I am indebted to all these persons and institutions for their help, as well as to the support of my husband during the preparation of this study.

PART I: THE EVIDENCE

Chapter One

EVIDENCE OF CANOPIES DONATED BY CONSTANTINE THE GREAT

1. Funerary Canopies

Constantine the Great, after he had freed the Christian Church from persecution, became the donor of many large churches and smaller structures which housed the graves of the apostles and martyrs, especially at Rome and the sacred places in Palestine. There is evidence that canopy structures existed in several of these buildings. They stood above the graves of the apostle Peter and possibly the martyr Laurence at Rome and over the sepulchre of the Saviour Himself at Jerusalem.

a. St. Peter's Basilica, Rome.

The recent excavations beneath St. Peter's basilica in Rome, along with the representation on the Pola Casket and the entry from the *Liber Pontificalis* under the life of Silvester, have established with reasonable certitude the existence, form and size of the canopy which stood above the shrine[1] of the apostle Peter (see fig. 2). The excavators uncovered some of the marble paving in the rear beneath the canopy which stood on the chord of the apse of the Constantinian basilica over the shrine itself. This paving bears the imprints of the two rear columns of the canopy and of the posts and chancel railings which stood between those columns and enclosed the lower part of the structure.[2] Both the columns and the chancel railings are visible on the Pola Casket representation (fig. 1).

The rendering on the Pola Casket, probably from the fifth century,[3] seems to represent only that portion of old St. Peter's which stood directly in front of the apse. It shows, below the canopy, the shrine of St. Peter, a low rectangular structure. Of the canopy the two rear columns are shown, in distorted, "conventional" perspective, connecting with the two front columns. The opening in the chancel railing is visible at front center. The representation further reveals a carved entablature which rested on the top of the four columns and connected them above. This entablature continued in a straight line from the two rear columns of the canopy along the chord of the apse, and was supported at the extremes by two more spiral columns which matched the four of the canopy itself. Thus the back of the canopy became part of a screen which spanned the front of the apse, separating it from the rest of the church by means of curtains hung from the entablature.[1] However, because of the later reworking of the area around the shrine, the excavations revealed no trace either of the two front columns of the canopy or of the two outer columns forming the screen before the apse.

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[1] It is not an established fact that St. Peter was actually buried on this spot (see discussion of José Ruysschaert, "Reflexions sur les fouilles Vaticanes," in Revue d'Histoire Ecclesiastique, vol. xlviii, 1953, p. 573f) but it seems evident that this was considered his burial place in Constantine's day. See also J. B. Ward Perkins and J. Toynbee, The Shrine of St. Peter and the Vatican Excavations, London, 1956, pp. 154-61.

[2] Ibid., p. 201.

[3] For a full account of the casket, see Anton Gnirs, "La basilica ed il reliquiario d'avorio di Samagher presso Pola," in Atti e Memorie della Società Istriana di Archeologia e Storia Patria, Vol. XXIV, 1908, pp. 5-48. Scholars are sometimes wary of trusting such a representation, yet the elements represented seem to correspond to the findings of the excavators. See Ward Perkins, The Shrine of St.

Peter, p. 203. See also T. Buddensieg, "Le Coffret en ivoire de Pola, Saint-Pierre et le Latran," in *Cahiers Archéologiques*, X, 1959, p. 188f on the dating of the Casket in the 5th century.

[1] Sockets for a moveable railing were discovered at this spot in the excavations, W. Perkins, p. 209 and 232, n. 34. Thus the apse, when desired, could be closed off by a railing.

The representation on the Pola Casket also illustrates an open cross vault above the canopy. The ribs rise from above the four columns at the corners and connect at the center in a small sphere, from which hangs a corona.

It has already been suggested[1] that this is probably a representation of the corona aurea, with 50 dolphins weighing 35 lbs. which hung at St. Peter's ante corpus, according to the passage in the Liber Pontificalis which records the gifts given by Constantine to St. Peter's when he had the basilica constructed.[2] The lamp, according to the representation on the casket, hangs above but also in front of (ante) St. Peter's loculus, since it was suspended from the center of the canopy (see fig. 4). The passage in the L.P. also records that Constantine ornamented the spot over the body of St. Peter with spiral columns brought from Greece.[3] These would seem to be the spiral columns, decorated with vines, shown on the casket.

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[1] Ibid., p. 204.

[2] L. Duchesne, Le Liber Pontificalis, Paris, 1955, Vol. I, p. 176.

[3] et alias columnas vitineas quas de Grecias perduxit. (Ibid.) Ward Perkins translates vitineas as "vine-scroll" (The Shrine of St. Peter, p. 231, n. 20);

The excavations indicate that the area covered by the canopy was approximately 9 meters square and raised one step above the floor of the church.[1] The excavators also revealed that the primitive shrine (fig. 3), which marked the "tomb" of St. Peter before Constantine's church was constructed, was in the Constantinian construction faced with marble and porphyry and stood about 6 ft. above the floor of the Constantinian church (fig. 5). It was located beneath the canopy just at the chord of the apse. This smaller shrine around the actual "tomb" itself was about 2.70 meters wide by 1.70 meters deep[2] (fig. 4) and enclosed the upper part of the aedicula, which ca. 160-180 A.D. had been built over what was traditionally believed to be the tomb of the apostle.[3]

The Pola Casket representation illustrates parts of the Constantinian shrine which in themselves might correspond to some of the elements from the older aedicula.

Du Cange (Glossarium, 1887, Tomus VIII, p. 359) gives as its meaning tortiles or twisted. The Latin words vitilis (plaited or twined together) and vitis (a vine) or viteus (of a vine) seem to stem from the verb vieo (to bind with twigs, weave or plait) implying that vitineas may refer to both the twisted and vine-decorated nature of the columns.

[1] Ward Perkins, The Shrine of St. Peter, p. 201.

[2] Ibid.

[3] See Ibid., p. 153 f.

The arched opening beneath the canopy which springs up above the figures in the center probably corresponds to niche N3 of the original aedicula above the travertine slab[1] (see figs. 3 and 5). The horizontal lines between the two figures probably also correspond to the approximate level of the travertine slab.[2] A cross stands upon this level.

The cross could be the one entered in the *Liber Pontificalis*, although its position has been interpreted in several ways.[3] To the basilica Constantine gave a gold cross weighing 150 lbs. which stood *super corpus beati Petri, supra aere quod conclusit*.[4] The word *corpus* in this passage must refer to the place where the saint was buried, rather than specifically to his body.[5] The *Liber*

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[1] *Ibid*., p. 201.

[2] *Ibid*., p. 204.

[3] Egger, Goldkreuz, discusses this cross and reviews different opinions about its position (pp. 188-189).

[4] Duchesne, I, p. 176: *fecit crucem ex auro purissimo, pens. lib. CL, in mensurae locus, ubi scriptum est hoc: CONSTANTINUS AVGVSTVS ET HELENA AVGVSTA HANC DOMVM REGALEM SIMILI FVLGORE CORVSCANS AVLA CIRCVMDAT, scriptum ex litteris nigellis in cruce ipsa*.

[5] So it would seem to be under Pelagius II (579-90): *Eodem tempora investivit corpus beati Petri apostoli tabulis argenteis deauratis*. (Duchesne, *L.P*. I, p. 309.) This

Pomtificalis also records that above the tomb stood columnae purfuriticae and the spiral columns brought from Greece, which were mentioned before. Ruysschaert suggests that the porphyry columns may also be visible on the Pola Casket carving.[1] They might be the two columns beneath the canopy which are partially obscured by the two front spiral columns. These columns also support an entablature.[2]

It would appear that the canopy at St. Peter's served the purpose of sheltering and marking the "tomb" of the apostle within the basilica. There is no indication that it also served the purpose of sheltering an altar at this early date. A passage of the Liber Pontificalis mentions an altar as another of Constantine's donations to St. Peter's: ipsum altarem ex argento auroclusum cum gemmis . . ., numero gemmarum CCCC, pens. lib. CCCL.[3] A 350

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might possibly be related to Ward Perkin's discussion (The Shrine of St. Peter, p. 203) about a mortar bed covered with layers of lead and placed inside the enclosure around the old aedicula (niche N2) of St. Peter which might have served as a backing for a decoration in a precious metal undertaken before the remodelling of Gregory the Great (see n. 16, p. 231).

[1] Ruysschaert, op. cit., vol. xlix, 1954, p. 51.

[2] The ambiguity of the rendering and the compression of space in the casket relief make it difficult to interpret whether the columns are engaged or stand in the round.

[3] Duchesne, L.P., I, p. 177.

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lb. altar could hardly have been placed directly over the tomb of the apostle, whose shrine stood almost 6 ft. above the floor of the church. It might be argued, as Ruysschaert has,[1] that the altar used for celebrations of the Eucharist on the feast day of the apostle might have been the travertine slab above the tomb. Ruysschaert refers to the oft-quoted text of St. Jerome which calls the tombs of both Peter and Paul *altaria Christi*.[2] However, St. Jerome's passage may speak in more general terms of the immediate vicinity of the tombs, or the situation may have changed in the course of the fourth century from the earlier years when St. Peter's was constructed. It might also be argued that the altar of silver, gold, and gems, mentioned above, might be for celebrations of the Eucharist on "ordinary" days in the church year, other than the feast day of the apostle. But were there celebrations of the Eucharist on "other" days at St. Peter's in Constantine's time?

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 47.

[2] St. Jerome, *Contra Vigilantium* in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, XXIII, col. 346: *Male fecit ergo Romanus episcopus, qui super mortuorum hominum Petri et Pauli, secundum nos ossa veneranda, secundum te vilem pulvisculum, offert Domina sacrificia, et tumulos eorum Christi arbitratur altaria*?

St. Peter's was built as a cemeterial church in a sepulchral area outside the main part of the city of Rome,[1] and it is very doubtful that it served any other purpose than that of glorifying the tomb of the apostle with celebrations and refrigeria and of providing burial sites near the apostle's tomb. A. Ferrua cites a hymn, attributed to St. Ambrose, which refers to the crowds of people who pour out of Rome to celebrate the feasts of Peter and Paul in June.[2] Thus, on the feast day of the apostles huge numbers of people came to the basilica. Prudentius refers to the same custom when he describes the feast of Peter and Paul and that of Hippolytus in Rome.[3] However, during the year, pilgrims and travellers came to pay their respects to the tomb of the apostle also. This is suggested in St. Augustine's letter to a fellow-cleric written in 395 A.D.,[1] in which he condemns the overindulgence in wine-drinking that daily took place at St. Peter's in Rome, apparently linked to refrigeria. The difficulty in correcting this situation, he writes, is that pilgrims and strangers keep coming who cling to this custom. But the holy Eucharist itself was probably only celebrated on the feast day in June. (If any other celebrations of Communion were practiced during the year, they were probably dedicated to those early popes who were buried near the apostle.) The Christian population of Rome went to Sunday mass at the titulus churches within the city walls.

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[1] See A. Ferrua, "'Antichita' Cristiane. Dei Primi Battisteri Parrochiali e di quello di S. Pietro in particolare," in La Civilta Cattolica, A. 90, Vol. 2, 1939, pp. 146-157 and Ward Perkins, The Shrine of St. Peter, p. 207. See also R. Krautheimer, "Mensa-Coemeterium-Martyrium" in Cahiers Archéologiques, XI, 1960, p. 29f.

[2] Ferrua, op. cit., p. 146. Hymn LXXI attributed to St. Ambrose (Migne, Patrologia Latina, XVII, Col. 1215):

Tantae per urbis ambitum
stipata tendunt agmina,
Trinis celebratur viis
festum sacrorum martyrum.

[3] Prudentius, Peristephanon Liber, IX & XII in Loeb Classical Library, 1953, II, pp. 318-319 and 322-328.

The altar, then, which the Liber Pontificalis describes, was probably used only on the feast day of the apostle (and possibly to celebrate the feasts of those popes buried near-by). Evidently it could not have been placed directly above the tomb since that place was occupied by the shrine. Thus it must have been placed either directly in front of the tomb or at another point to the East of the tomb in the church, either in the transept[1] or at the West end of the nave.[2]

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[1] St. Augustine, Epistola 29 (written in 395 A.D. to Alypius, Bishop of Tagaste) in Migne, P.L., XXXIII, col. 119: Et quoniam de basilica beati apostoli Petri, quotidianae vinolentiae proferebantur exempla; dixi primo audisse nos saepe esse prohibitum, sed quod remotus si locus ab episcopi conversatione, et in tanta civitate magna sit carnalium multitudo, peregrinis praesertim, qui novi subinde veniunt tanto violentius, quanto inscitius illam consuetudinem retinentibus, tam immanem pestem nondum compesci sedarique potuisse.

Evidence that might support the suggestion that the altar was placed directly in front of the tomb in the approximately 6 x 9 meter space remaining beneath the canopy (see fig. 4) appears again in the *Liber Pontificalis* under the life of Silvester. The passage which records the gifts of Constantine to the tomb of his mother Helena on the Via Lavicana describes an *altarem ex argento* purissimo, pens. lib. CC, ante sepulchrum beatae Helenae Augustae, qui sepulchrum est ex metallo purphyriticus exsculptis sigillis. Some of the other gifts for Helena's tomb are like those given to St. Peter's: four large candlesticks 12 ft. high, 200 lbs. each (at St. Peter's, decorated with images and gilded, 10 ft. high, 300 lbs. each); a corona aurea with 120 dolphins weighing 30 lbs. (at St. Peter's with 50 dolphins weighing 35 lbs.), along with the altars, the numerous chalices, patens and other lamps.[1] There would seem to be certain parallels suggested here between the ornaments for the tomb of the imperial lady and the apostle, which might suggest that the altar at St. Peter's also could have been placed ante corpus.

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[1] Gregory of Tours in his description of St. Peter's (*De Gloria Martyrum*, I, XXVIII in Migne, *P.L.*, LXXI, col. 728-729) indicates that there are 4 columns *in altare*. The phrase seems to describe the 4 columns in the transept, indicating that the altar was probably located in the transept in the late 6th century. Ward Perkins, *The Shrine of St. Peter*, p. 213 and p. 234, n. 47, cites another instance, in the description of St. Martin at Tours, where Gregory uses the phrase *in altario* to indicate "in that part of the church that contains the altar."

[2] Altars would seem to have occupied this position at both Aquileia and Parenzo in the 4th century. See the study by Mario Roberti, "La Posizione dell'altare nelle più antiche basiliche de Aquileia e di Parenzo," in *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana*, XXVI, 1950, pp. 181-194 and Ward Perkins, *The Shrine of St. Peter*, p. 208.

It is still uncertain, however, whether ante corpus might mean in the transept at St. Peter's or under the canopy. The Pola Casket shows no trace of an altar. However, an altar could have been moved in for the one service (or few services) for which it was needed during the church year.[2] The tomb, at any rate, remained the stationary element beneath the canopy.

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[1] Duchesne, L. P., I, p. 182.

[2] See Ward Perkins, The Shrine of St. Peter, p. 208 and Roberti, op. cit.

Thus the canopy above St. Peter's loculus, constructed probably just after 325 A.D.,[1] would seem primarily to mark and enshrine the tomb of the apostle, If an altar was brought into its precinct for mass, this was probably only on the special occasion of the natale of the apostle. At that time, too, gifts of food and wine, as was the custom for the faithful to bring on such feast days,[2] must have been placed somewhere near-by, possibly on the slab above the tomb. It is possible that in the early 4th century a distinction could have been made between the mensa of the tomb, where gifts of food and wine were left for the dead, and the mensa or table where the holy Eucharist was performed. That such offerings were brought daily to St. Peter's tomb in the late 4th century is suggested by St. Augustine's passage, in which he condemns the "daily" practice of wine-drinking at St. Peter's.[3] This possibility will be studied in more detail in a later chapter.

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[1] The dating of old St. Peter's is discussed in Ward Perkins, The Shrine of St. Peter, pp. 195-197.

[2] R. Krautheimer, "Mensa-Coemeterium-Martyrium," p. 31f.

[3] See note 1, p. 20.

b. Constantinian Martyrium of St. Laurence

A representation on the reverse of a lead medal in the Vatican Museum shows a canopy with four spiral columns and an open cross-vault above (fig. 6). Thus, it appears similar to the one at St. Peter's as it appears on the Pola Casket (fig. 1). In fact, the similarities have led Castagnoli to suggest that this medal may represent St. Peter's shrine.[1] Spiral columns, he suggests, are rare and are difficult to make, and it seems unlikely to him that there would be another monument so much like the venerated tomb of St. Peter.

However, there are inconsistencies in the two representations which Castagnoli himself points out, such as the difference in height between the railings on the medal and on the casket. This difference could, of course, result from the fact that one representation may be more accurately proportioned than the other. But then, too, the chancel railing on the medal seems to be composed of grating, which is lacking on the Pola Casket representation.

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[1] F. Castagnoli, "Probabili Raffigurazioni del ciborio intorno alla memoria di S. Pietro in due medaglie del IV Secolo," in Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana, 1953, pp. 98-101.

At any rate, the representation on the medal has been traditionally interpreted as the shrine of St. Laurence, because the obverse of the medal apparently illustrates his martyrdom, a man tortured on a grill in front of an emperor. Therefore the reverse of the medal may represent the shrine of the martyr. Since Laurence's martyrdom would seem to be the subject of the representation on the obverse of the medal, it does seem plausible that the reverse might depict his shrine, approached by a figure bringing a candle to honor the martyr. The account in the Liber Pontificalis, which describes the way in which Constantine decorated the shrine of St. Laurence, may suggest that the shrine on the medal might be the shrine of St. Laurence. The account has been for a time under suspicion because it did not seem to fit with the facts known about Laurence's tomb from excavations. The basilica[1] above the crypt was puzzling until recent excavations brought to light the large Constantinian basilica that stood near the grave of the martyr.[2] Now the entry in the Liber Pontificalis reads with more credibility and may, as would seem to be the case with the Lateran and St. Peter's, contain authentic records.

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[1] Duchesne, L.P., I, p. 181

[2] R. Krautheimer, W. Frankl, S. Corbett, Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae, Rome, 1959, Vol. II, p. 1f.

The basilica of St. Laurence was built above the arenarium cryptae (where the martyr was buried), and stairs were built leading to and from the crypt.[1]

> In quo loco construxit absidam et exornavit marmoribus purphyreticis et desuper loci conclusit de argento et cancellos de argento purissimo ornavit, qui pens. lib. $\bar{I}$.

It would then seem that in the catacomb chamber or crypt, where St. Laurence's body was buried, an apse was constructed and ornamented (probably faced) with porphyry. Constantine "enclosed" the grave ("loculus" instead of "locus"?)[2] of Laurence with silver and decorated it with chancels of pure silver, which weighed 1,000 lbs. Before this spot in the crypt he placed a golden lamp (lucernam ex auro) weighing 20 lbs., a corona of pure silver weighing 30 lbs. (probably similar to that over the tomb of St. Peter), two bronze candelabra 10 ft. high, weighing 200 lbs. each and, before the body of St. Laurence, small silver reliefs, sigilli, portraying his passion. The text suggests that the apse was dug out of the rock around the grave of the martyr, which probably originally was a loculus along a catacomb gallery. Thus the tomb in Constantine's chapel was perhaps not situated below ground level but may have risen up above it. This grave was then "enclosed with silver," but chancel railings, also of pure silver, stood around it. The apse itself, and perhaps also the chamber that contained it, must have risen to a considerable height to accommodate bronze candlesticks 10 ft. high.

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[1] Duchesne, L.P., I, p. 181: et usque ad corpus sancti Laurenti martyris fecit grados ascensionis et descensiones.

[2] For an interpretation of locus as an abbreviated form of loculus, see Egger, Goldkreuz, p. 184.

It is tempting to see in the chancel grating shown on the medal what might be the silver chancels recorded in the Liber Pontificalis. If the chancel railings were made of 1000 lbs. of silver, formed into grating, they could indeed have been high and extensive as suggested on the medal. However, it is also possible that both the chancels and the "silver enclosing" the grave together weighed 1000 lbs. In this case it is also tempting to read the slenderness of the spiral columns, entablatures, and ribs spanning the top of the canopy on the medal as an indication of their construction from metal-work, or from wood faced with silver. However, such slenderness may be a distortion of representation on the medal, and these suggestions can only remain deep in the realm of conjecture.

The medal, which bears the inscription *SUCCESSA VIVAS* on both sides,[1] has been judged to date either from the late fourth or the early years of the fifth century.[2]

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[1] The inscription on the medal helps to identify it with a medal which came to light in the 17th c. in Rome, of which this may be a cast. De Rossi (*Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana*, May-June, 1869, pp. 33-36) has written an account of the correspondence about a medal in bronze with the words *SUCCESSA VIVAS* on it, which had been in the collection of Cardinal Francesco Barberini. The Cardinal acquired the medal after Claude Ménétrier in Rome corresponded with Dr. Peiresc at Aix in the early months of 1636 about this medal and another found with it. Dr. Peiresc then wrote to Cardinal Barberini on April 29, 1636, discussing whether the figure on the grate could be St. Laurence, represented without his name inscribed beside him. The second possibility was that Successa may have been the martyr represented here. However, no martyrologies contain such a name, and Successa is probably the one in whose honor the medal was cast. In many catacomb graffiti, including examples from the Agro Verano where Laurence was buried (*Nuovo Bull. de Arch. Cristiana*, 1895, pp. 79-80), the name of the deceased precedes the *VIVAS*, which may be followed by the phrase *IN DEO* or *IN CHRISTO* (See O. Marucchi, *Le Catacombe Romane*, Roma, 1933, pp. 207, 291, 388, 401, 452, 555). Thus at the death of Successa, the medal might have been cast to celebrate her entrance into life eternal, under the vigilance of the martyr Laurence, to whom tribute is paid here. On other medals or gold glass, Peter and Paul are often the ones who are represented on behalf of the dead, although Laurence sometimes appears in this role also.

The 17th c. correspondence about the medal describes it as in bronze. Most scholars seem to feel that the lead medal now in the Vatican Museum is a cast of the bronze original which is now lost.

[2] de Rossi, *Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana*, 1869, p. 3; Castagnoli, *op. cit.*, p. 98; *DACL*, "ciborium," Vol. III, pt. 2, col. 1593-94; Styger, *op. cit.*, I, p. 177.

If it does represent the tomb of St. Laurence, then it shows the Constantinian shrine, which may have been destroyed in the sack of Rome in 410 A.D., along with so many other Christian monuments, especially those made with precious metals. The passage under the life of Pope Sixtus (432-40) in the *Liber Pontificalis*[1] no doubt relates the refurbishing of St. Laurence's shrine, as it does of the Lateran *fastigium*.

A second lead medal in the Vatican Museum is again striking in its similarity with both the representation on the above medal and with St. Peter's shrine as it is represented on the Pola Casket. This medal, inscribed with the name *GAUDENTIANUS* on one side, *URBICUS* on the other (fig. 7), also shows a shrine with spiral columns connected by chancel grating and supporting an entablature above. However, the chancel grating is placed upon a solid base or railing not present on the medal of *SUCCESSA*.

This solid base or railing below the grating suggests the shrine of St. Laurence as refurbished by Sixtus:

> Item fecit Xystus episcopus confessionem beati Laurenti martyris cum columnis porphyreticis et ornavit platomis transendam, et altarem et confessionem sancto martyri Laurentio de argento purissimo, pens. lib. L; cancellos argenteos

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[1] Duchesne, *L.P.*, I, pp. 233-234.

> supra platonis purphyreticas, pens. lib. CCC; absidem super cancellos, cum statuam beati Laurenti martyris argenteam, pens. lib. CC.[1]

It is the porphyry columns and the porphyry plates, above which the chancel rails rise, which remind us of the arrangement on the GAUDENTIANUS medal.

Castagnoli feels that the GAUDENTIANUS medal, as the SUCCESSA Medal, may represent the shrine of St. Peter. He argues that the obverse of the GAUDENTIANUS medal probably bears no relation to the shrine on its reverse side,[2] just as the martyrdom on the obverse of the SUCCESSA medal may also have no relation to the shrine on its reverse. However, in the case of the GAUDENTIANUS medal, there is no agreement about what subject is represented on the obverse. The representation is not clear.[3] If the scene cannot be easily identified, how can it be used to prove or disprove a relationship to the shrine on the reverse of the medal? One can only say that the reverse of the medal depicts an adult carrying perhaps a chalice or bowl, and a child approaching a shrine.

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[1] *Ibid*.

[2] Castagnoli, *op. cit*., p. 99.

[3] It is said to represent the sacrifice of Isaac or "a person fighting a wolf with a child near-by" (Garrucci). Gabar, *Martyrium*, Vol. II, p. 13, feels this is another scene of an offering for a martyr.

Castagnoli probably correctly characterizes both medals as ones of devotion from Christians bringing offerings and prayers to the tomb of a martyr. He feels that the honors here are afforded to St. Peter, as they are also on the Pola Casket.[1] In the case of both medals, devotion is paid to a venerated shrine, but why must the devotion be limited to St. Peter's tomb? In a passage of Prudentius's Peristephanon, on the celebration of the Passion of St. Laurence "distinguished families dedicate their dear ones, their noble children" to the Faith.[2]

No doubt these are medals of devotion but, because of the different elements present in each design, the devotions are probably offered at the tombs of different martyrs. It is possible that the medal of GAUDENTIANUS could represent a later refurbishing of the tomb of Laurence in the 5th century. But this is highly conjectural.

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[1] Castagnoli, op. cit., pp. 100-101.

[2] Prudentius, Peristerhanon Liber (Loeb ed., II, op. cit., p. 138):

> videmus inlustres domos,
> sexu et utroque nobiles,
> offere votis pignera
> clarissimorum liberum.

That the medal of SUCCESSA represents the shrine of St. Laurence seems more possible but must remain uncertain also. More certain, however, are the similarities and differences which are visually apparent between the design of St. Peter's shrine and these representations. The differences are important because they indicate that the shrines of different saints or martyrs may be depicted, instead of just one. The similarities are equally important, for they suggest that the shrine of the apostle Peter must have influenced the design of shrines built over tombs of other highly venerated saints or martyrs in the era of Constantine himself or later.

c. The Holy Sepulchre

About the year 326 A.D.,[1] the dowager empress Helena, the mother of Constantine, made a voyage to the Holy Land. There, she is said to have found the True Cross and the site of Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre. Her son wrote to Macarius, who was Bishop of Jerusalem at that time, and ordered that these places be properly marked with buildings and monuments for which he would supply fine and precious materials.[1]

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[1] See Theophanes, Chronographia in Migne, P.G., CVIII, col. 109-112; Theodoretus, Episcopus Cyrensis, Ecclesiasticae Historiae, Lib. I, cap. XVII in Ibid., LXXXII, col. 957-962; and St. Jerome, Chronicon, in Migne, P.L., XXVII, col. 679.

It was probably, then, not too long after 326[2] that the Holy Sepulchre itself "as the chief part of the whole" complex of monuments built on the site in Jerusalem was decorated with "rare columns, and profusely enriched with the most splendid decorations of every kind," according to Eusebius's account in the *Vita Constantini*.[3]

Thus, this monument was commissioned by the emperor Constantine and marks the empty tomb that testifies to the truth of the Christian faith. Because of the importance of the tomb in Christian theology and doctrine, the forms of the monument which decorated it became renowned and influential in the design of Christian monuments.

The Constantinian monument which marked the tomb would seem to have been in the form of a canopy, originally placed in a courtyard under the open sky.[1] This canopy may be seen on the ampouls from Bobbio and Monza, probably of the 6th century,[2] and on the reliquary box at the Lateran, of the 6th or early 7th century.[3] In addition, the written accounts of pilgrims to the Holy Land, as well as references to the monument by Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem from c.350 to 386 A.D., help to supplement the representations and attest to their accuracy.

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[1] Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, III, cap. 30-33 in P. Schaff & H. Wace, *A Select Library of Nicine and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, Vol. I, 2nd series, *Eusebius*, New York, 1890, pp. 328-329 and Theodoretus, *op. cit.*, col. 955-958.

[2] See also S. Prosperi Aquitani, *Chronicum Integrum*, p. I, in Migne, *P.L.*, LI, col. 576.

[3] Schaff & Wace, *op. cit.*, p. 329.

One of the earliest accounts is that of the pilgrim from Aquitaine of 333 A.D., who saw the complex of monuments before they were completed and dedicated in 335.[4]

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[1] See J. B. Ward Perkins, "Constantine and the Origins of the Christian Basilica," in Papers of the British School at Rome, 1954, p. 81, where other bibliography is cited.

[2] See A. Grabar, Les Ampoules de Terre Sainte, Paris, 1958, pp. 13-14; G. Celi, "Cimeli Bobbiesi," in La Civilta Cattolica, 1923, p. 9.

[3] There are several opinions about the date of this box, but it seems likely that the painting was done prior to 614 A.D. when the Persians invaded Jerusalem and burned the monument. See C. R. Morey, "The Painted Panel from the Sancta Sanctorum," in Festschrift Paul Clemen, 1926, p. 151f; C. Cecchelli, The Rabbula Gospels, fasc. ed., Olten & Lausanne, 1959, pp. 33-34 (a colored reproduction of the box appears on p. 34); E. Baldwin Smith, The Dome, Princeton, 1950, p. 28; Celi, op. cit., p. 41.

[4] See Eusebius, Vita Constantini, IV, 47 in Schaff and Wace, op. cit., p. 552 (and prolegomena, p. 43).

He refers to the spot of the Resurrection as a cripta, ubi corpus eius positum fuit.[1] He also mentions the stone (lapidem), which was rolled away beside the tomb, the basilica which Constantine built, and the spot of Golgotha besides. He mentions no ornament or church around the tomb. Thus, at that time, the cave of the Resurrection itself (cripta) must have been left with relatively little adornment. It is not clear whether a canopy structure, which could have left the cave, stone and tomb in plain sight, might have stood there, but it seems probable that no church stood over the site.

By about 350 St. Cyril of Jerusalem describes the same cave with the stone beside it in his catechetical lectures delivered to a group of neophytes that were being trained for baptism. However, he describes how the "outer cave" in front of the door of the sepulchre "was cut away at that time for the sake of the present adornment. For before the decoration of the sepulchre by the royal munificence, there was a cave in front of the rock."[2] In another lecture, he speaks of the tomb and "the stone which was laid on the door, which lies to this day by the tomb."[1] The earliest mention of the sepulchre in the lectures occurs when St. Cyril refers to the many "true testimonies concerning Christ."[2] "The Holy Sepulchre bears witness," he asserts, "and the stone which lies there to this day."[3]

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[1] P. Geyer, Itinera Hierosolymitana (Saec. III-VIII), Prague, 1898, p. 22. (See also preface, p. iv on the dating of the accounts.)

[2] Cyril of Jerusalem, Catechetical Lectures, XIV, 9 in Migne, P.G., XXXIII, col. 833-834 and, in translation, P. Schaff & H. Wace, op. cit., Vol. VII, St. Cyril of Jerusalem and St. Gregory Nazianzus, N.Y., 1894, p. 96.

From these references, we gather that by 350 the tomb had been adorned by order of the emperor and, for that purpose, that part of the cave in front of the tomb had to be removed in order to make room for the "adornment." It would seem probable also that the "adornment" over the tomb was not yet sheltered by a church because Cyril as Eusebius before him refers to only one church, "this holy church of the Resurrection of God our Saviour" or "this house of the holy church" which Constantine built, in which he delivered his lectures and which was inlaid and decorated with gifts of silver and gold.[4] Eusebius also wrote in similar terms about only one church at this site which bears witness to the Saviour's Resurrection and is embellished with gold, silver, and precious stones

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[1] Ibid., XIII, #39 in Schaff and Wace, p. 93.

[2] Ibid., X, #19 in Schaff and Wace, p. 62.

[3] Ibid., p. 63.

[4] Ibid., XIV, #14 & 22 in Schaff & Wace, pp. 97 and 100.

> Hoc igitur templum tamquam salutiferae resurrectionis imperator exstruxit, et magnifico planeque regio apparatu decoravit . . . ornamentiis ac donariis, partim ex auro et argento, partim ex gemmis.[1]

It would seem that both Eusebius and Cyril are speaking of the same church and that this must have been the so-called martyrium built by Constantine. From within this church, Cyril points to the Mount of Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre in the courtyard beyond.[2]

If the sepulchre was not enclosed within a church in the middle 4th century, what was the nature of the "adornment" which Constantine commissioned. Eusebius mentioned "rare columns" used to decorate the sepulchre, along with "splendid decorations of every kind."[3]

The canopy-like structure represented on the 6th century ampouls, which must have come from the Holy Land[4] and contained samples of oil from the lamps of the holy sites in Palestine, may well depict the monument which stood presumably alone over the sepulchre in Constantine's day. Spiral columns, often with Corinthian capitals, are visible on many of these representations (figs. 8-12). Although four columns are usually shown supporting the conical roof of the canopy, on Bobbio ampoul 3 and 4 two rear columns are visible at the back of the structure (fig. 10). Thus an hexagonal canopy structure, sustaining a pointed roof and resting on 6 spiral columns, would seem to have sheltered Christ's tomb. The columns may indeed be the "rare columns" to which Eusebius refers. At the peak of the roof would seem to rise a cross resting on an orb (see figs. 8, 10, 11).

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[1] Vita Constantini, III, XV in Migne, P.G., 20, col. 1099.

[2] Ibid., X, #19 in Schaff and Wace, pp. 62-63. See discussion of these points in K. Schmaltz, Mater Ecclesiarum, Strassburg, 1918, p. 32f.

[3] See note 1, p. 33 above.

[4] See Grabar, Les Ampoules de Terre Sainte, p. 13 and Celi, op. cit., p. 9. The inscriptions on the ampouls

But on some of the ampouls we see a second, smaller structure standing underneath the hexagonal canopy. This

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themselves indicate that they come from Palestine: "Oil from the Wood of Life from the Holy Places of Christ" (Ibid., p. 11 and Grabar, pp. 17, 22, 25, 26, 29, 30). One fact about the ampouls disturbs me. Why were they preserved just at Bobbio and Monza in Italy and nowhere else? If these were available generally to pilgrims to the Holy Land (perhaps the silver to those who could pay for it and terra cotta for others) as indicated by Antonius Placentinus in his 6th c. text (in Geyer, op. cit., pp. 172-173), one would expect to find remains of them elsewhere in the Christian world. See Grabar's discussion of this point, Les ampoules de Terre Sainte, pp. 14-15.

appears on Monza ampouls 12, 13 (fig. 9), 14, and 15 and on Bobbio ampouls 3 (fig. 10), 4, and 15 (fig. 12). The smaller structure seems to comprise a doorway surmounted by a pediment, which is decorated with an upward radiating shell. At the peak of the pediment also rises a cross (resting on an orb? See fig. 12). The doorway below is enclosed by a grated chancel railing. It would seem that this smaller structure might have served as a frontispiece for the tomb, and thus might have taken the place of the "outer cave" which "was cut away . . . for the sake of the present adornment."[1] Ampouls 2, 6, 8, 10, and 11 of Monza seem to portray this smaller structure alone.[2] This structure, together with the hexagonal canopy, was probably completed by the dedication of the work commissioned by Constantine in 335 A.D., and seems to have been the sole shelter of the tomb until sometime after the lectures of St. Cyril in the 350's.[3] Whereas St. Cyril mentions only one church at this site, probably the same one described even earlier by Eusebius as the *Martyrium* built by Constantine, by the 380's when Etheria, an Aquitanian lady, writes an account of her pilgrimage to the Holy Land, she speaks of a *basilica Anastasis*, which would seem to have enclosed the Tomb because on Sundays it became filled with the odors of incense.[1] Furthermore Etheria outlined in detail services which took place throughout the year in a church on the site of the Tomb itself. Thus, by the time Etheria visited the Tomb, the canopy and other "adornment" around the Tomb that had been commissioned by Constantine must have been enclosed within a church building.

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[1] See note 2, p. 35 above.

[2] Bobbio ampoul 18 depicts this smaller structure alone and also seems to include the pointed roof of the canopy above, without the columns supporting it.

[3] This interpretation differs fundamentally from that of Grabar, Les Ampoules de Terre Sainte, p. 58.

Etheria's detailed account of the daily services at the *Anastasis* throughout the Christian year almost always refers to the tomb itself as a *spelunca* or cave.[2] She continually describes how the bishop *intrat intra* cancellos intra Anastasim, id est intra speluncam (enters within the chancels in the Anastasis, that is, within the cave) and makes the first oration.[1] In the evening the Bishop stands before the chancels, in front of the cave (levat se episcopus et stat ante cancellum, id est ante speluncam).[2] These references to the cancelli immediately bring to mind the chancel grating visible on so many of the ampouls (see figs. 8-12). It would seem that the entrance to the cave indeed was covered by this grating, which according to some ampoul representations could be pulled open or shut (see fig. 11). However, one point of conflict arises.

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[1] Geyer, *op. cit*., p. 73: *ecce etiam thymiataria inferuntur intro spelunca Anastasis, ut tota basilica Anastasis repleatur odoribus*. See also pp. 75, 98, and 100 for other references to the same church.

[2] In the 7th c. account of Adamnanus, Arculph describes the cave as cut out of the rock and able to accommodate on its interior just 9 men: *In medio spatio huius interioris rotundae domus rotundum inest in una eademque petra excisum tegurium, in quo possunt ter terni homines stantes orare, et a vertice alicuius non brevis staturae stantis homines usque domunculae camaram pes et semipes mensura in altum extenditur*. (Geyer, *op*. *cit*., p. 227.)

On Monza ampouls 3 (fig. 8), 5, 9, 14, and 15 and Bobbio ampoul 6 (fig. 11), the grating seems clearly to rise between the columns of the surrounding canopy and not at the entrance to the tomb itself. Etheria's text seems to imply that when the Bishop enters within the chancel railings, he had stepped within the cave (intra cancellos, id est intra speluncam). However, at two other points, she speaks of the bishop kneeling or standing at the

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[1] Ibid., p. 71.

[2] Ibid., p. 72. Similar references can be found on pp. 73, 75, 84, 85, 90, 99.

"interior" chancel, which would seem to be within the cave (*stat episcopus incumbens in cancello interiore, qui est in spelunca Anastasis*[1] and *et sic benedicet eos episcopus stans intra cancellos interiores et postmodum egreditur*).[2] It is not clear whether there was one chancel railing at the entrance to the cave and a second within the cave, or whether one chancel railing surrounded the canopy between the columns and a second stood at the entrance to the cave itself. The ampoul representations would suggest that the latter is the case. The painting on the Lateran reliquary box also seems to depict the canopy over the tomb, surrounded by chancels. Above this canopy is suspended what is probably the dome of the church of the Anastasis.

The account written in the Breviarius of Jerusalem, dating perhaps from the mid fifth century and describing the buildings at the site of the Holy Sepulchre, refers also to a round church (*ecclesia in rotundo posita*) built over the tomb. Of the sepulchre itself, the author writes: *Super ipso sepulcro transvolatile argenteum et aureum et* in circuitu omne de aurum.[1] One therefore wonders if the chancel railings, as well as the pointed roof above the canopy were not made of these precious metals. The 6th century account of Antoninus Placentinus supplements the description given in the Breviarius when he writes, ipsum monumentum sic quasi in modum metae coopertus ex argento.[2] Thus the conical roof of the canopy seems to have been covered with silver. Constantine had given silver chancels to the tomb of St. Laurence in Rome, which may be illustrated on the Vatican medal. The same type of chancel railing would seem to surround the Holy Sepulchre. Again, on Monza ampoul 5 and 9 and on Bobbio ampouls 6 (fig. 11), 15 (fig. 12) and 16, intricate designs of grating and grill-work are visible on the rounded arches which rise between the columns of the canopy, suggesting tooling or casting in metal. Thus the whole canopy[3] might have been either composed of or covered with these precious metals. This would indeed account for the phrase, "the most splendid decorations of every kind," which Eusebius used to describe the materials with which Constantine beautified the Holy Sepulchre.[1]

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 99.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 75.

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[1] Ibid., p. 154.

[2] Ibid., p. 171.

[3] If the word transvolatile in the Breviarius text refers to spiral columns, as the words volatile or volutile do in the 8th c., then the columns of the canopy might be of silver also. It is hardly clear what the word transuolatile means here. A. Heisenberg, Grabeskirche & Apostelkirche, I, p. 119 has made a philological study of the word and interprets it to mean ciborium. Assuming that the account contained in the Breviarius was translated

The ampouls, coupled with the pilgrim's accounts, again help us to identify some of the other ornaments and accessories used at the Holy Sepulchre. Monza ampoul #3 (fig. 8) and Bobbio ampoul #6 (fig. 11) both represent three lamps suspended before the entrance to the tomb. Etheria speaks also of a light within the tomb. At the daily evening service, when it was dark, the faithful brought candles with them to the Anastasis. Light, however,

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from a Greek original and later added to the descriptions of other Christian writers in the West, such as Bede, one cannot, without the original text, make any definite comments. It is interesting to note, however, that in the West the word voltiles or volitile is used twice in the Liber Pontificalis to describe the spiral columns at St. Peter's (Duchesne, op. cit., I, p. 417 under Gregory III (731-41) and II, p. 15 under Leo III (795-816). See Du Cange, Glossiarum, T. VIII, p. 375. Could the word describe the spiral columns around the tomb of Christ? (Perhaps, too, the word could be derived from transuo (to sew or pierce through) and latus, -eris (side, flank) and might refer to the silver and gold chancel railings surrounding the monument. See Underwood, "The Fountain of Life," p. 92.)

[1] Vita Constantini, III, 34. See note 50.

shone from inside the cave within the chancels where a lamp always burned day and night.

> Lumen autem de fores non affertur, sed de spelunca interiori eicitur, ubi noctu ac die semper lucerna lucet, id est intro cancellos.[1]

In the late 6th century, the itinerary of Antoninus Placentinus also notes at the place once occupied by Christ's head in His tomb, a bronze lamp which burns day and night and from which the faithful obtain blessing.[2]

Along with the lamps visible on Monza ampoul #3 and Bobbio ampoul #6, a curtain or hanging is also suspended before the entrance to the tomb. The same type of hanging is visible also on Monza ampoul #9. Bobbio ampoul #6 (fig. 11) reveals a pattern of lozenges with round centres. Monza ampoul #9 shows simply diamond-shaped patterns decorating the hanging. In the same position

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[1] Geyer, *op. cit*., p. 72.

[2] *Ibid*., p. 171:

> . . . ubi corpus domini Iesu Christi positum fuit, lucerna aerea, quae in tempore ad caput ipsius posita fuit, ibidem ardet die noctuque, ex qua benedictionem tulimus.

It is possible that this is the lamp from the spot of the Resurrection from which oil was taken for the ampouls. Antoninus mentions ampouls which held oil (*oleum ad benedicendum*) offered near the site of the True Cross (p. 172). Lamps before the tomb on the ampoul representations are cited also by T. Klauser, "Das Ciborium in der älteren on the Lateran reliquary box appears what is probably a hanging, bearing a representation of a cross. Again we might return to Etheria's description of the Feast of the Epiphany, when she speaks of the veils decorated with gold, which were hung for the occasion of the feast, and of numerous lights and other vessels inlaid with gold and precious stones used on that day.[1] These festal veils and decorations were used but three times a year: for Epiphany, Easter, and for the dies enceniarum, when the consecration of both the Martyrium and the Anastasis was celebrated.[2]

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christlichen Buchmalerei" in Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, I. Philologisch-Historische Klasse, 1961, Nr. 7, p. 197.

[1] Geyer, op. cit., p. 76:

> Ubi extra aurum et gemmas aut sirico nichil aliud vides; nam et si vela vides, auroclava oloserica sunt, si cortinas vides, similiter auroclavae olosericae sunt. Ministerium autem omne genus aureum gemmatum profertur illa die. Numerus autem vel ponderatio de ceriofalis vel cicindelis aut lucernis vel diverso ministerio nunquid vel aestimari aut scribi potest.

[2] Geyer, op. cit., p. 101. It is possible that the ampouls displaying the hangings and lamps might have been made for feast days. The obverse of Monza ampoul 3 shows the Epiphany. Bobbio ampoul #6 adds the soldiers bearing a spear and sponge on long poles to the Crucifixion scene, thus indicating a more direct reference to the Passion of Christ.

Bobbio ampoul 6 (fig. 11) also displays candles mounted on the roof of the canopy. Candles may also appear on Bobbio ampoul 18 and directly above the tomb on Monza ampouls 12 and 13 (fig. 9). They bring to mind the candle-like forms that rested on the flat roof on the canopy of the GAUDENTIANUS Medal at the Vatican Museum (fig. 7).

This parallel brings to mind others which exist between the Roman canopies already discussed and the Holy Sepulchre. The structure seen on the SUCCESSA VIVAS medal (fig. 6) displays the use of a high grated chancel railing, probably of metal, as did the Holy Sepulchre. We may recall also how the tomb of St. Peter rose above the floor of the church and was enclosed within a small structure, faced with marbles, which stood beneath the canopy. A certain parallel in arrangement is suggested at the Tomb of Christ, where the cave, whose entrance was decorated and which may also have been faced on all sides with precious marbles,[1] was placed beneath a canopy structure with accompanying lamps and hangings.

There may even have been an altar placed immediately in front of the Tomb of Christ, as may have been the case at St. Peter's. There is evidence of its presence by the late 4th century, when mass was celebrated in front of the tomb on some occasions.[1] The Breviarius and Antoninus in the 5th and 6th centuries refer to an altar in this location.[2] However, when exactly in the 4th century it was introduced into the complex is unknown.

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[1] See Arculph's description in the account of Adammanus, Ibid., p. 227: Huius tegurioli introitus ad orientem respicit, quod totum extrinsecus electo tegitur marmore.

~~However,~~ Any parallel between the Tomb of Christ and that of St. Peter involves only the use of the same elements. The two were not at all visually similar. The two canopies, their details and accoutrements, were composed with different forms and designs. The special significance of those forms used to decorate the Tomb of Christ will be analyzed and discussed in a later chapter.

2. Fastigium at the Constantinian Basilica of the Saviour (the Lateran)

The first large structure built by Constantine and dedicated to the Christian faith was the basilica known today as St. John of the Lateran. Constructed around 313 A.D.,[1] the basilica, which was dedicated to the Saviour, stood on the site of one of Constantine's palaces near the Lateran gate in Rome. Constantine gave the palace and basilica to house the bishop of Rome. The structure, therefore, represents the first monumental Christian basilica, monumental not only because of its considerable size and rich adornment but also because it was given by the emperor of Rome, considered for centuries to have divine authority, to the ruler of the Christian Church in Rome, who had only very recently attained any kind of recognized power.

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[1] Etheria describes these occasions (*Ibid*., p. 78): *Et similiter missa de ecclesia facta ad Anastase itur cum ymnis sicut semper dominicis diebus fit*. See also pp. 72, 79, 80, 84, 86, and 98.

[2] *Ibid*., pp. 154 and 171.

Among the gifts which Constantine gave to this church, according to the records under the life of Silvester in the Liber Pontificalis, was a fastidium, or fastigium, made of hammered or "beaten" silver weighing 2,025 lbs.[2] The exact nature, purpose, position and form of this fastigium all remain shrouded in mystery. Scholars have regarded the structure as an altar ciborium,[3] a conclusion, it would seem, arrived at mainly through a process of elimination. However, some more recent scholars have suggested that the form of the structure needs redefining, along with its position in relation to the altar.[1] And, the very entry in the *Liber Pontificalis* which describes the *fastigium* suggests that this structure was probably not an altar ciborium at all, as shall be demonstrated below.

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[1] See Ward Perkins, "Constantine and the Origin of the Christian Basilica," p. 85, n. 69. The donations to the Lateran basilica include all Western territories indicating a date previous to Eastern endowments, which began ca. 325 A.D.

[2] Duchesne, L.P., I, p. 172.

[3] C. Rohault de Fleury, La Messe, Paris, 1883, Vol. II, p. 2f. and Pl. XC; DACL, art. "Ciborium," cols. 1589-

The *Liber Pontificalis* describes the *fastigium* as follows: It had in front a seated figure of the Saviour, 5 ft. high, weighing 120 lbs. and figures of the 12 apostles, each 5 ft. high, weighing 90 lbs. with crowns of pure silver. Then, behind, looking into the apse (*a tergo respiciens in absida*) was a figure of the Saviour enthroned made of pure silver, 5 ft. high, weighing 140 lbs. and four silver angels, each 5 ft. high, weighing 105 lbs. each with gems set into their eyes and holding

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1593; Duchesne, *op. cit.*, L. P. 191, n. 29; G. Wilpert, "La Decorazione Constantiniana della Basilica Lateranense," in *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana*, 6, 1929, p. 69.

[1] This is the opinion of both E. Dyggve, *Ravennatum Palatium Sacrum, la basilica ipetrale per cerimonie*, Copenhagen, 1941, p. 38, n. 3 and A. Alföldi, "Insignien und Tracht der römischen Kaiser," in *Römische Mitteilunjen*, 50, 1935, p. 132, n. 4.

spears. The *fastigium* itself, of silver, weighed 2,025 lbs.[1] It was probably fashioned of silver "beaten" or hammered over a wooden core.

The entry following this describes a

> cameram ex auro purissimo et farum ex auro purissimo qui pendit sub fastidium, cum delfinos L ex auro purissimo, pens. lib. L, cum catenas qui pens. lib. XXV.

The two items are combined into one entry, which suggests, as Duchesne has noted, that the *camera* may be a golden vault which belonged to the *fastigium* and below which hung the golden lamp, suspended on a chain.[2]

The descriptions suggest a three-dimensional structure. It had almost life-sized figures on two sides, facing in different directions, and a golden lamp hanging from the center of it, perhaps from a golden vault. From this description, Rohault de Fleury attempted a reconstruction of this Fastigium, placing the figures of the apostles on 3 sides upon the architrave of an altar canopy around the seated Christ and the five figures of the enthroned Christ and angels on the architrave of the 4th side, facing into the apse.[1]

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[1] Duchesne, *L.P.*, I, p. 172:

> Basilicam Constantinianam, ubi posuit ista dona: fastidium argenteum battutilem, qui habet in fronte Salvatorem sedentem in sella in pedibus V, pens. lib. CXX, at XII apostolos qui pens. sing. in quinos pedibus libras nonagenas, cum coronas argento purissimo; item a tergo respiciens in absida, Salvatorem sedentem in throno, in pedibus V, ex argento purissimo, pens. lib. CXL, et angelos IIII ex argento, qui pens. sing. in pedibus V lib. CV, cum gemmis alabandenis in oculos, tenentes astas; fastidium ipsum pens. lib. $\overline{\text{II}}$XXV, ex argento dolaticio.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 191, n. 30.

The L.P. entries on the Lateran continue, listing next four coronas of pure gold with 20 dolphins, each weighing 15 lbs.[2] Duchesne feels that these also belong to the fastigium.[3] Also mentioned is the camera basilicae of gold, weighing 500 lbs., which may have belonged to the apse,[4] and seven altars of pure silver weighing 200 lbs. each,[5] followed by entries of patens, chalices and other liturgical vessels. Another entry under gifts to the

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[1] Rohault de Fleury, La Messe, II, p. 3 and Pl. XC.

[2] coronas IIII ex auro purissimo cum delfinos XX, pens. sing. lib. XV.

[3] Ibid., p. 191, n. 31.

[4] Ibid., n. 32 suggests this. The references to the Lateran as the "basilica aurea" suggest that this may have been the case. See Mon. Germ. Hist., Epist. I, p. 101 and the 12th c. account of John the Deacon in Migne, P.L., CXCIV, col. 1547.

[5] altaria VII ex argento purissimo, pens. sing. lib. CC.

Lateran basilica speaks of seven candelabra, each 10 ft. high and weighing 300 lbs., which stood before the seven altars.[1] There is no relationship suggested in the text between any of these altars and the _fastigium_.

Still another entry under the Lateran gifts also refers to an altar. This reads:

> Ornamentum in basilica: farum cantharum ex auro purissimo, ante altare, in quo ardet oleus nardinus pisticus, cum delfinos LXXX, pens. lib. XXX.[2]

It is this entry which seems to contradict the suggestion that the _fastigium_ was an altar ciborium. Since a golden _farum_ with 50 dolphins and weighing 50 lbs. hung beneath the _fastigium_, it seems unlikely that a second golden _farum_ with 80 dolphins and weighing 30 lbs. would have hung directly in front of it in order to be _ante altare_. This entry suggests that the _fastigium_ and the altar were located at two different points within the Lateran basilica. But if the _fastigium_ did not stand over the altar, then what purpose did it serve?

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[1] _Candelabra auricalca numero VII, ante altaria, qui sunt in pedibus X, cum ornatu ex argento interclusum sigillis prophetarum, pens. sing. lib. CCC_. (_Ibid_., I, p. 173.)

[2] _Ibid_.

The Liber Pontificalis entries are, in many ways, puzzling and raise many other questions. How and where were the 18 almost-life-sized figures arranged on the front and back of the fastigium? Where was the fastigium actually placed within the basilica? And, of prime importance, what is the precise significance of the word fastigium in this entry? A study of this word and its various meanings may help to clarify some of the questions raised by the text.

The word refers generally to the highest part of an object or person, whether it is the highest point on a building, a mountain, the human figure, or an animal.[1] It also can be used in a more abstract sense to denote the highest power, dignity, or honor belonging to a particular office, person, country, etc.[2] The Lateran fastigium would, however, seem to define some sort of architectural structure. In this sense the Romans often used the word to describe a particular architectural form: the pediment. The pediment, moreover, had special significance and could only be used to decorate buildings of the highest importance. At first reserved especially for temples to the gods and for funerary or commemorative monuments to denote their supreme dignity,[1] the form also came to be used on the dwellings and palaces of the Roman emperors.

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[1] Thesaurus Linguae Latinae, Lipsiae, 1912-26, Vol. VI, pt. I, col. 320f: P.I: proprie de re corpora.

[2] Ibid., col. 322f: P. II: translate de re incorporea.

In describing the honors given to Julius Caesar, Florus mentions that:

> Statues of him were set up in temples; in the theatre he wore a crown adorned with rays; he had a raised chair in the senate-house; a high gable was added to his house (_fastigium in domo_); a month of the calendar was named after him.[2]

Cicero also mentions the same tribute of the _fastigium_ paid to Caesar.[3] Thus, the Roman emperor, who came to possess the powers of a god, could also use the _fastigium_ form to denote his supreme power and dignity. Ernst Nash tries to demonstrate how a coin of Domitian shows the palace of the emperors, topped by a pediment.[1] A. Boëthius traces the steps which probably led from the use of the pediment on the imperial palace to its use in imperial audience and reception halls.[2] E. Dyggve has analyzed and defined the latter type of structure in Roman palatial architecture.[3] It is probably visible on the late 4th century Missorium of Theodosius (fig. 13), where the emperor sits enthroned beneath an arcuated gable, flanked on each side by his two sons. A similar arrangement seems to have existed at Spalato, where a pediment with arcuated lintel stands at one end of the peristyle.[4]

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[1] Cicero describes how the pediments of the temples, actually a practical solution to the problem of how to make rain water run off a roof, became an essential part of the dignified appearance of the buildings:

> ut etiamsi in caelo capitolium statueretur ubi imber esse non posset, nullam sine fastigio dignitatem habitarum fuisse videatur.

(_De Oratore_, III, 180 in Loeb ed., V. 2, pp. 142-43.)

[2] Florus, _Epitomae_, II, XIII, 91 in Loeb ed., V. 2, p. 296:

> Itaque non ingratis civibus omnes in principem congesti honores: circa templa imagines, in theatro distincta radiis corona, suggestus in curia, fastigium in domo, mensis in caelo, . . .

[3] Cicero, _Philippic_, II, 110 in Loeb ed., p. 172:

Quem is honorem maiorem consecutus erat, quem ut haberet pulvinar, simulacrum, fastigium, flaminem?

[1] E. Nash, "Der Wohnpalast der Caesaren auf dem Palatin," in Antike Kunst, I, 1958, pp. 24-28; idem., A Pictorial Dictionary, I, 375.

[2] A. Boëthius, "The Reception Halls of the Roman Emperors," in Annual of the British School at Athens, XLVI, 1951, pp. 25-31.

[3] Dyggve, Ravennatium Palatium Sacrum.

[4] Ibid., p. 31f, Tav. XIII, fig. 30 & Tav. XVIII, fig. 42; Karl M. Swoboda, "The Problem of the Iconography of Late Antique and Early Medieval Palaces," in Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, XX, 1961, pp. 81-82.

The mosaic of S. Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna, which originally depicted the palace of Theodoric and his court, probably once illustrated this arrangement again, with the enthroned emperor seated beneath the central arcuated opening of the pediment, flanked by courtiers, standing beneath the arcades, whose outstretched hands are still visible in front of some of the columns (see fig. 14).[1]

Although Boëthius relates the earlier _ius fastigii_, given to Julius Caesar and subsequent emperors, to the development of the architectural complex which comprised the screen framing the emperor in imperial audience halls from the time of Domitian on,[2] there is to my knowledge no specific use of the word _fastigium_ in Roman literature which describes such an arrangement in an audience hall or throne room. However, it is evident from the visual sources cited above that the pediment form, combined with colonnaded arcades, was adopted in the courts of the emperor to surround and glorify his person during public appearances. The fact that the word *fastigium* was used in an abstract sense to connote the possession of supreme power, belonging to the empire or the emperor,[1] also supports the suggestion that

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[1] _Ibid_., p. 82 and Dyggve, _Ravennatium Palatium Sacrum_, Tav. I, fig. 2 and Tav. XXI, fig. 49.

[2] Boëthius, "Reception Halls," is aiming his discussion toward clarifying whether this development in Roman architecture is ingrown or comes from an Eastern influence. For our purposes the acknowledgment of the existence of these forms in Roman architecture is the important element.

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[1] Examples of this are:

(1) P. Valerius Paterculus, *Historiae Romanae*, I, II, 6 in ed. Carolus Halm, Lipsiae, 1876, p. 11 (in speaking of Metellus Macedonicus):

> Nam praeter excellentis triumphos honoresque amplissimos et principale in re publica fastigium extentumque vitae spatium et acris innocentisque pro re publica cum inimicis contentiones quattuor filios sustulit, omnes adultae aetatis vidit, omnes reliquit superstites et honoratissimos.

(2) Suetonius in Caligula, c. 22 (in Loeb ed., I, p. 434):

> Verum admonitus et principium et regum se excessise fastigium, divinam ex eo maiestatem asserere sibi coepit, . . .

(3) Lactantius, *Liber de Mortibus Persecutorum*, cap.IV in Migne, *P.L.*, VII, col. 200 (on the persecutions of Decius):

> Et quasi hujus rei gratia provectus esset ad illud principale fastigium, furere protinus caderet.

Also, cap. XVIII (col. 221):

> Simul et exemplum Nervae proferebat, qui imperium Trajano tradidisset. Ille vero aiebat, et indecens esse, si post tantam sublimis fastigii claritatem in humilis vitae tenebras decidisset, et minus tutum, quod in tam longo imperio multorum sibi odia quaesisset.

See col. 712, notes of Pauli Baudri, for other examples. Also, *Divine Institutions*, VII, epilogue to the Emperor Constantine, c. 26 in Migne, *P.L.*, VI, cols. 816-817:

> Te providentia summae divinitatis ad fastigium principale provexit; qui posses vera pietate

the word may have applied to those structures enframing and glorifying the emperor's presence during public appearances.

Whereas the word *fastigium* in an architectural sense originally referred to the highest point of a building in the pediment forming the roof on the exterior,[1] Livy does use the word to describe the gable of a shrine within a

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> aliorum male consulta rescindere, peccata corrigere; . . .

(4) Orosius, *Adversum Paganos*, VII, 37 (from ed. C. Zangemeister, Vindobonae, 1882, p. 288):

> Interea cum a Theodosio imperatore seniore singulis potissimis infantum cura et disciplina utriusque palatii commissa esset, hoc est Rufino orientalis aulae, Stiliconi occidentalis imperii, quid uterque egerit, quidue agere conatus sit, exitus utriusque docuit, cum alius filio suo affectans regale fastigium, . . .

(5) St. Jerome, *Commentariorum in Amos*, III, c. VIII in Migne, *P.L.*, XXV, col. 1075:

> Et hoc quasi falsus sacerdos loquitur adulans regali fastigio, ut non dicat: sanctificatio Dei nostri est, et domus idoli; sed sanctificatio regis et domus regni: . . .

(6) Gelasius, *De Anathematis Vinculo* in Migne, *P.L.*, LIX, cols. 108-109:

> Sed cum ad verum ventum est eundem regem atque pontificem, ultra sibi nec imperator pontificis nomen imposuit, nec pontifex regale fastigium vindicavit.

[1] See reference in note 1, p. 55. There are many other examples. A few are:

(1) Vergil, *Aeneid*, IX, in Loeb ed., p. 140.

(2) Statius, *Silvae*, I, II, 152 in Loeb ed., p. 26 and I,

temple. He writes of twelve gilded shields which were set up on the gable of the shrine inside the Temple of Jupiter above the aedicula (*in calla lovis supra fastigium aediculae*).[1] The word *fastigium* was also at times employed by Christian writers to refer to a gabled roof. It was used in this way in the fourth century by Paulinus of Nola[2] and, in an inscription, to designate the roof of the basilica of S. Agnese in Rome.[3]

V, 41-43, p. 62.

(3) Suetonius, Caligula in Loeb ed., p. 462.

(4) Tertullian, *De Spectaculis*, VII in Loeb ed., p. 250.

[1] Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita*, XXXV, LXI, in Loeb ed., Vol. X, p. 122.

[2] Paulinus of Nola, Carmen 28, ll. 10-12:

> Illic adjunctae sociantur moenibus aulae,
> Diffusoque sinu simul et coeunte patentes
> Aemula consertis jungunt fastigia tignis,

R. Goldschmidt, *Paulinus' Churches at Nola*, Amsterdam, 1940, p. 166 translates *fastigium* as "roof." The word probably refers to the gable or pointed section of the roof, as it probably does in the example from S. Agnese below.

[3] This inscription is known from 6th c. mss. See G. B. de Rossi, *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae*, Roma, 1888, Vol. II, I, pp. 44-45.

> Sacravi templum vitricis virginis Agnes
> Templorum quod vincit opus terrenaque cuncta
> Aureique rutilant summi fastigia tecti.

Scholars have traditionally accepted it as belonging to the basilica of S. Agnese f.l.m., but it probably actually belonged to the large cemeterial basilica near-by. See the study by F. Deichmann, "Die Lage der Konstantinischen Basilika er Heiligen Agnes," in *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana*, V. 22, 1946, p. 3f.

In general, Christian writers tend to use the word in the more abstract sense, to describe the supreme power of the emperor, pope, or priest. The *Liber Pontificalis* uses it three times in the early centuries of the Church, twice to describe the structure at the Lateran, and once to describe gables that decorate a fountain in the Lateran complex. The first passage is the one with which we are concerned; the second refers to the replacement of the Lateran structure, which the barbarians had stolen. This, no doubt, cites the barbarian invasion of Rome in 410 A.D.[1] Pope Sixtus (432-440) then requested that the Emperor Valentinian Augustus replace the structure. He gave a *fastidium argenteum*, weighing 2000 lbs.[2] The fountain will be discussed in a later chapter, but it is described as decorated with columns, with architraves and pediments above.[3]

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[1] P. Lauer, *Le Palais du Latran*, Paris, 1911, pp. 41-42 gives many references to the barbarian invasion of Rome in 410 A.D.

[2] Duchesne, *L.P.*, I, p. 233.

[3] *Ibid*., p. 243: *et columnis cum fastigiis et epistuliis*. For accounts of the use of the word in the 9th c., see appendix A below. The word also appears in the accounts of Zacharias (741-52):

> Et postmodum adgregans Orientalium exercituum multitudinem, ante-latus Constantinus princeps

There seems to be little doubt, however, that the historians of the Roman Empire used the word to describe a pediment when referring to an architectural form. Further study of the pediment has revealed that it was reserved especially for temples, tombs, commemorative monuments, and for buildings of the Roman emperors. Alföldi, in discussing the forms used to honor the Roman emperors, has assumed that the *fastigium* which Constantine gave to the Lateran basilica must have been a pediment, similar to that in Diocletian's palace at Spalato and on the Missorium of Theodosius (fig. 13).[1] If the gift was a pediment, the problems of where it was placed and how or where the eighteen figures stood on it immediately arise.

In pagan temples and on the palaces of the emperors the *fastigium* often stood above the entrance to the building.[2] However, at the Lateran this position does not seem

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> pergensque Constantinopolim, eandem viriliter expugnans atque extrinsecus circumvallans conprehendit civitatem, et pristinum regni sui adeptus est fastigium, statimque iamfati Artausti eiusque filiorum eruit oculos et plures ex suis rebellibus exules a propriis fecit habitaculis.

(*Ibid*., I, p. 433.)

[1] Alföldi, "Insignien und Tracht," p. 132.

[2] So would seem to have been the case at the house of Julius Caesar and at the palace of Domition. See p.

logical. Why would the scribe have recorded that a tergo respiciens in absida if the structure stood near the entrance? The fastigium must have stood somewhere near the apse itself, more like an aedicula within a pagan basilica or temple.

If the pediment were placed in front of the apse, the arrangement of the 18 figures presents a problem. If they were placed above the pediment, it might be extremely awkward to balance a seated or enthroned figure of Christ on the apex of the pediment. Besides this difficulty there are other reasons for reconsidering the position of the 18 figures in relation to this structure.

The Liber Pontificalis records of gifts, given by Constantine to the Lateran Baptistery, mention the placement of silver figures of both Christ and John the Baptist at the mouth of the font on each side of a golden lamb.[1]

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55 above. C. Rasponi, De Basilica et Patriarchio Lateranensi , Romae, 1656, p. 100 interprets the fastigium in this way (Primo, fastigium argenteum hoc est eminentior Ecclesiae frons, . . .).

[1] Duchesne, L.P., I, p. 174:

> In labio fontis baptisterii agnum aureum fundentem aquam, pens. lib. XXX; ad dexteram agni, Salvatorem ex argento purissimo, in pedibus V, pens. lib. CLXX; in leva agni, beatum Iohannem Baptistam ex argento, in pedibus V, tenentem

These figures were both 5 ft. high, as those belonging to the *fastigium*. The pure silver figure of Christ weighed 170 lbs. and that of John, who held a *titulus* with the inscription *ECCE AGNUS DEI, ECCE QUI TOLLIT PECCATA MUNDI*, weighed 125 lbs. The golden lamb, which stood between them, spouted water into the font and weighed 30 lbs. The figures, in order to be *in labio fontis*, must have stood at a relatively low level, perhaps only raised on a platform off the floor of the structure, and probably appeared much as a life-sized group before the faithful.

Such could also have been the case with the figures connected with the *fastigium*, contrary to Alföldi's supposition.[1] Their description is in terms of each individual piece and its own weight, apart from the 2,025 lbs. of the *fastigium* itself. And when the *fastigium* was replaced under Sixtus III in the 5th century, there was no mention of replacing the figures, only the *fastigium* itself, which weighed 2000 lbs. Two documents, one from the 12th century

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titulum scriptum qui hoc habet: ECCE AGNUS DEI, ECCE QUI TOLLIT PECCATA MUNDI, pens. lib. CXXV; . . .

[1] Alföldi, "Insignien und Tracht," p. 132, not only suggests that the figures were raised on the pediment itself but also in note 4 supposes that the 2,025 lbs. of silver in the *fastigium* included the weight of the figures.

and one from the 16th century, even speak of these figures as separate pieces in the round, although both sources are too late to be trusted explicitly.[1]

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[1] John the Deacon in his description of the Lateran basilica, written c. 1169, mentions some of the figures briefly as part of the treasure under the altar of the church:

> necnon aliorum apostolorum penitus argenteae quas Constantinus imperator Dei servus, qui easdem ad honorem Salvatoris Jesus Christi suorumque discipulorum imaginari studuit, sic in quodam gynaeceo molitus est recondere, quod nulli artifici per quodcunque ingenium licet accedere. (Liber de Eccl. Lat., in Migne, P.L. CXCIV, col. 1549.)

The passage is not entirely clear, but it would seem that no-one was allowed to view these figures (which had been hidden away), perhaps because they were in poor condition or of poor quality, as is suggested in a passage by Vasari much later (see below). (What does the phrase sic in quodam gynaeceo molitus est recondere," that he (Constantine?) caused to be (or removed to have) hidden away in some (or what was once?) women's quarters, mean? It might refer to the aisle or place where women congregated in the church. The sequence in the whole passage seems confused and does not logically follow. It might be due to the omission of phrases when the text was copied or to a faulty source. Could the women's quarters possibly be the ones that formerly belonged to the palace nearby, which Constantine gave to the Church? But why would Constantine hide the figures? Could the time sequence in the passage be faulty? Perhaps the concealment took place during the barbarian invasion in 410, and thus the figures were saved from harm.)

Vasari mentions the figures of Christ and the twelve apostles in the Proemio delle Vite to illustrate the decline in the quality of sculpture in Constantine's time:

> Similmente, il magnifico tempio di San Giovanni Laterano, fatto fare dallo stesso imperadore, può fare fede del medesimo; cioè che al tempo suo era

Thus, the suggestion that the figures themselves might have stood near floor level, probably raised on a platform, beneath a pedimental form seems feasible. The description of the *fastigium* reads simply: *habet in fronte* . . . . the figures of Christ and the twelve apostles. The *fastigium* in this case would likely imply a composite structure of pediment, probably supported beneath by silver columns, perhaps with a vault of gold in the center below which hung a golden lamp from a chain.

> di già molto declinata la scultura: perchè l'imagine del Salvatore e i dodici apostoli d'argento, che egli fece fare, furono sculture molto basse, e fatte senza arte e con poichissimo disegno. (*Proemio delle Vite*, Milanesi ed., 1568, I, 225.)

We cannot say how Vasari knew of these figures, but if they could have survived the rigours of time, invasions, and fires, they might have remained part of the treasure below. The Lateran altar in spite of their delapidated and poor condition. According to another source (Filippode Rossi, *Descrizione di Roma Moderna*, Rome, 1708, p. 616), those relics under the altar of the Lateran which survived the fire of 1308 were put on display on Holy Saturday each year. Thus, if the figures had survived, they could have been put on view one day a year.

Thus, it seems possible that the figures of Christ and the twelve apostles belonging to the Lateran *fastigium* could have survived after the *fastigium* itself. In the sack of Rome in 410 A.D. the figures might have been removed, whereas the architectural framework of the *fastigium* itself was left in place and destroyed by the barbarians. The framework for the figures could then have been replaced under the reign of Sixtus III by Valentinian.Augustus.

The figures would have occupied the openings beneath this architectural framework. Such a composite of forms suggests the more complex structures of pediment, and colonnaded arcades developed in the imperial audience halls. It would affirm the suggestion of Dyggve, who, in analyzing the forms of these audience halls, noted that the *fastigium* at the Lateran may have been a Christian descendant of the audience hall type, thus forming a kind of iconostasis.[1] (See figs. 13 and 14.)

Dyggve's analysis probably holds: the *fastigium* stood near or in front of the entrance to the apse of the Lateran basilica. Since the throne of the Bishop of Rome was no doubt located at the back of the apse, the *fastigium* must have more or less screened the front of the apse, much in the manner of the arrangement of columns and cornices at St. Peter's, as seen on the representation from the Pola Casket. (See fig. 1.) The Bishop, then, would have been clearly separated from the faithful within the basilica. The Bishop would face the image of Christ enthroned among the angels, whereas the faithful would be confronted by the Christ who sat, as on earth, among the twelve apostles and who had delegated his authority to the apostles. This same authority had been passed through Peter to the Bishop of Rome himself, who sat behind. Thus, the fact that the "back" of the *fastigium* seemed more elaborately decorated than the "front,"[1] with the Saviour enthroned and gems set into the eyes of the angels, does not seem strange since they faced the ruler of the Church on earth. In fact, the Christ who sat *in throno*, in the seat of greatest honor as in heaven, would not even be visible to the faithful, The faithful viewed only the Christ *in sella*. The *sella* was a more common and humble form of seat, without arms or a back, which was used by all classes of people. But in the form of the *sella curulis*, placed always in an elevated position, it had also served the Roman magistrates for ceremonies and for the enactment of justice among the Roman people.[2] Thus the Christ *in sella*, who sat before the people for ceremonies of the Christian faith at the Lateran, might suggest a parallel to the Roman *sella curulis*.

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[1] Dyggve, *Ravennatum Palatium Sacrum*, p. 38, n. 3.

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[1] *DACL*, art. *ciborium*, col. 1593.

[2] Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grècques et Romaines*, art. "sella," Vol. 4, pt. 2, pp. 1179-80.

The fastigium given to the Lateran, therefore, seems to represent a unique creation, fulfilling needs which had appeared no where in the pagan world. No single pagan monument could supply a prototype of decoration for this new Christian basilica, and the choice of forms must have come from a variety of sources in the pagan world which may have seemed related. Christ was indeed the object of worship, and his silver images may have provided the focus of the building, to which the faithful, or the Bishop himself, looked. But the spiritual ruler of the Faith on earth had also to be provided for, for he, too, as the Vicar of Christ, served the Faith and the faithful. Thus he may have sat enthroned behind a screen of images, almost as the emperor or his magistrates might have sat in the apse of an audience hall or basilica behind a screen of columns.[1] But the object of worship, Christ, probably sat enthroned in the center of all as the most important and dominant element in the building.

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[1] See Ward Perkins, "Constantine and the Origins of the Christian Basilica," p. 72, fig. 1, n. 6: the basilica at Sabratha and p. 73, fig. 2, n. 1: the basilica at Pompeii. One fragment of the forma Urbis (depicted by G. B. Piranesi, Le Antichità Romane, I, Paris, 1835) also reveals a screen of columns before a large apse or tribune, labelled LIBERTATIS, which was part of a large basilica (a building marked by a fragmented word, BASIL). The plan of the apse further reveals an aedicula-like structure at the back flanked by two columns. Did it contain a throne? a cult statue? the presence or genius of the emperor?

The two golden *camerae*, which may have decorated both the *fastigium* and the apse above the thrones of both Christ and the Bishop, may also reflect an attribute of some imperial audience halls. Alföldi[1] notes that the *καμαρα*, where the throne of the emperor was placed in the Chrysotriclinium of the great palace at Constantinople, may be a later descendent of much earlier imperial audience halls and that the latter, in turn, might have inspired the *camerae* at the Lateran.

Images of both emperors and pagan gods often appeared beneath a *fastigium* form. So a statue of Domitian appears enthroned on a coin,[2] and Constans in the Calendar of 354.[3] Livy described a *fastigium* over the *aedicula* in the temple of Jupiter which must have sheltered the cult statue of the god.[4] Consular diptychs, also, show the consuls of the state seated beneath a fastigium form.[1]

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[1] Alföldi, "Insignien und Tracht," p. 130, n. 4.

[2] See *Ibid.*, Taf. 14, #1, pp. 128-29.

[3] See H. Stern, *Le Calendrier de 354*, Paris, 1953, Pl. XIV and XV.

[4] See note 2, page 60 above.

Images in precious metals, too, were usually reserved only for persons of the highest honor, for cult statues and for emperors.[2] Caligula, according to Suetonius, erected a temple in which his subjects could worship him, and he placed in it a golden image of himself which was dressed daily in the same clothing he wore.[3] Such honors could have served as forerunners for what appeared at the Lateran, even though it appeared in a new context.

A tentative reconstruction of the Lateran fastigium (Fig. 15) might be attempted with reference to contemporary or nearly contemporary sources, both pagan and Christian. As already suggested, the late 4th century Missorium of Theodosius (fig. 13) or the structure in the peristyle of Diocletian's palace at Spalato may display the same general type of architectural composition as did the Lateran _fastigium_. And perhaps we have some reflections, direct or indirect, of the Lateran _fastigium_ itself, together with the accompanying display of statues, on certain Christian sarcophagi of the 4th century. Some of the columnar sarcophagi of the 4th century, especially those from Rome and Southern France, depict a seated Christ flanked by standing figures of apostles, sometimes carrying crowns. A fragment of a Roman example from S. Sebastiano (fig. 16)[1] has figures of apostles, some carrying crowns, grouped two by two under arcades to either side of the central figure of a seated Christ. Other sarcophagi display a similar arrangement (see fig. 17).[2] These and still others present variations on the theme: sometimes there are other figures behind the figure of Christ; sometimes Christ stands in the center;[3] sometimes the apostles carry crowns, other times scrolls; and sometimes the central representation is not of Christ but the sign of His Resurrection.[1] The architectural elements on these sarcophagi are often consistent. Spiral columns, whose spirals alternately flow in different directions, with composite capitals and elaborate bases, divide the area into seven arcades. These arcades are sometimes filled in above with downward-radiating conches, and their spandrels are decorated usually with baskets or crowns.

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[1] F. Volbach, Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des Frühen Mittelalters, Mainz, 1952, Tal. 2, #'s 3 & 6; Tal. 5, #'s 16 & 21.

[2] See study of Kenneth Scott, "The Significance of Statues in Precious Metals in Emperor Worship," in Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association, Vol. LXII, 1931, p. 101f.

[3] Suetonius, Caligula XXII, in Loeb ed., I, p. 436.

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[1] G. Wilpert, _I Sarcofagi Cristiani Antichi_, Roma, Vol. III, 1936, Tav. CCLXXXIV, #5 and p. 15. Another fragment of the apostles carrying crowns beneath arcades appears in Vol. II, 1932, Taf. CCXXXVIII, #5 and p. 326.

[2] _Ibid_., Vol. I, 1929, Tav. XXIX, #2 and pp. 38 & 49 from Lione; and Tav. XXIX, #1 and pp. 38 & 49 from Arles (both illustrated in fig. 17).

[3] _Ibid_., Tav. XXXIII, #2 and p. 40 from Lérin and Tav. XXXV, #'s 1-4 and pp. 42-44, the sarcophagus of Probus from the Museo Petriano.

All the examples seem to date from the mid to the late fourth century. If some of the designs for Christian sarcophagi may have been adopted from more monumental compositions, as has been suggested for the traditio legis types,[2] then the Lateran fastigium, one of the first monumental decorative schemes in a Christian basilica, might also have inspired some of the designs for Christian sarcophagi.[1] Even though there are many variations among the examples cited above, all of these examples yet retain a combination of distinguishing features that may, individually and also in combination, have recalled parts and the whole of the Lateran _fastigium_ and the statues there of Christ and the apostles. All of these elements might be expected to have been modified in the course of time as they fused with or were added to other sarcophagus designs. Thus, the _traditio legis_ or city-gate designs might introduce new elements into the examples cited above, such elements as palm trees flanking the figure of Christ or the standing posture of Christ placed on a mound. The personification of the heavens below the feet of Christ and scenes of Christ's life, either the healing of the sick or teaching of the faithful, also occur with the enthroned Christ[1] and would seem to be themes from other sarcophagus types, such as that of Junius Bassus.[2] Thus, the process of continual change could have acted upon an original sarcophagus design, which might have stemmed from, but perhaps never copied exactly, the arrangement of the Lateran *fastigium*. On several of these sarcophagi the level of the figures' heads is approximately the same, even though the apostles are standing and the Christ is seated. The Lateran *fastigium*, too, along with other works commissioned by Constantine the Great,[3] may well have framed an isocephalic arrangement of figures, for all of the figures there are supposed to have measured 5 ft. in height.

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[1] Ibid., Tav. XVIII, #5 and p. 91 from S. Sebastiano and now in the Lateran Museum. Taf. CCXXXVIII, #5 from Arles, in Vol. II and cited in note 1, p. 72 above, is classified by Wilpert as this type also.

[2] See F. Van der Meer, Maiestas Domini, Roma, 1938, p. 44f; Wilpert, Sarc. Crist., I, p. 175; C. Ihm, Die Programme der christlichen Apsismalerei, Wiesbaden, 1960, pp. 7-8, 12; C. Davis-Weyer, "Das Traditio-Legis Bild und seine Nachfolge" in Münchner Jahrbuch, 3rd series, XII, 1961, pp. 7-38.

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[1] Duchesne, _op. cit._, I, p. 191, n. 29 notes that the scene of the 12 apostles, carrying crowns, etc., from the Lateran _fastigium_ often appears on sarcophagi and in the Roman catacombs and was probably inspired from the decoration of the basilicas.

This suggests that perhaps columnar sarcophagi in general were less directly dependent on pagan Asiatic sarcophagi than M. Lawrence ("Columnar Sarcophagi in The Latin West," in _Art Bulletin_, XIV, 1932, p. 103f.) suggests. As Boëthius suggested ("Reception Halls") for the development of imperial audience halls, perhaps the original impetus for such an arrangement came from the East, but it developed in its own way within the history of Roman art itself. (See also A. Soper, "Latin Style on Christian Sarcophagi of the Fourth Century," in _Art Bulletin_, 1937, XIX, pp. 171-172.)

If the design of the Lateran *fastigium* did influence the decoration of Christian sarcophagi, that design would have to be modified to fit the long and narrow form of the sarcophagus front. It would have been difficult or awkward to fit the motif of the crowning pediment along the full length of a sarcophagus front. Thus the arches, both round and pointed, which enframe the figures on most of the sarcophagi, might represent a modification of the original *fastigium*, if that design were the original source. Yet the more or less consistent division of the sarcophagus front into seven compartments with 2 figures of apostles placed in each of the 6 compartments around the central Christ might be reminiscent of the original divisions in the groupings of the figures under the *fastigium*. Some of the architectural details on the sarcophagi, such as the spiral columns, composite capitals, and large, elaborate bases, possibly also could be reminiscent of the Lateran *fastigium*.

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[1] Wilpert, Sarc. *Crist*., I, Tav. XXIX, #3 from the Mus. of Algiers with scenes of healing under the arcades; Tav. XXXIII, #1 and p. 50 from the Catacomb of S. Damaso, Rome.

[2] *Ibid*., Tav. XIII and p. 37.

[3] As the Constantinian reliefs on the Arch of Constantine.

Our tentative reconstruction of the *fastigium*, then, uses seven openings beneath a pedimental form, supported by columns and placed in front of the apse of the Constantinian basilica (fig. 15c). The structure could hardly have occupied a space much wider than the apse opening, because the Constantinian foundation walls beneath the basilica indicate that the nave arcade continued all the way down to the apse.[1] (Since the apse walls narrow gradually into a semi-circle, it seems most probable that the *fastigium* did protrude forward into the church, as the screen and canopy at St. Peter's, rather than back into the apse.) But when one attempts to introduce such a structure into the original plan of the Lateran basilica as it is known today (fig. 18),[2] some problems arise.

If the structure had seven openings in the front part, where Christ and the twelve apostles were placed, might it also have had seven openings behind, at the chord of the apse? The figures of Christ enthroned and the four angels were placed there and would occupy only five openings. But there is also the problem of providing an entrance into the apse. Where and how did Church dignitaries enter the apse? I can only suggest the solution proposed on the reconstruction plans (fig. 15a & b) where the two outer openings on the side of the structure which faced into the apse were left free for passage. Such a solution is not without precedent. At.St. Peter's, according to the Pola Casket (fig. 1), the two outer openings of the screen before the apse, decorated with curtains and occupied by praying figures seem also to be entrances into the apse.

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[1] E. Josi, "Scoperte nella Basilica Constantiniana al Laterano," in *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana*, XI, 1934, pp. 335-98.

[2] See R. Krautheimer and S. Corbett, "The Constantinian Basilica of the Lateran," in *Antiquity*, 1960, pp. 201-206 (plan: fig. 2, p. 204) and R. Krautheimer, E. Josi, ~~Frankl,~~ S. Corbett, "Note Lateranensi," in *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana*, 34, 1958, pp. 59-72.

In the fourth century the Lateran basilica did not have ~~had~~ a transept but rather two chambers projecting outward near the apse end of the church (see fig. 18).[1] If these chambers were used for preparations for mass or for offerings or as a refuge for dressing the Bishop and clergy in festal robes before services, then the bishop of Rome and his clergy could approach the apse from these chambers through the first bays of the nave arcade, then step beneath the sides of the fastigium structure and into the apse. By the same way the clergy could come forward out of the apse into the side aisles and then back into the nave under the second bay of the nave arcade for processions or mass. (Or, the priests or Bishop could have come forward by walking beneath the fastigium and then walking within the space of about 1-1/2 meters which remained between the apse opening and the beginning of the nave arcade.[1] The apse opening itself, of about 15 meters, offers adequate space for the seven openings of the *fastigium*. If the central area, in which the figure of Christ sat, were slightly wider than the rest, measuring approximately 3 meters in width, then the remaining openings in which the figures of apostles and angels stood each would have been about 2 meters wide.

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[1] Ibid.

When all were in use, the seven altars and the seven large candlesticks recorded in the *Liber Pontificalis* could have stood in front of the seven openings of the *fastigium*. However, these may have been used only on Holy Saturday,[2] and it was perhaps more usual to use only one altar. This must have been placed in the center of the nave in line with the figure of Christ, perhaps very close to the point where the altar of the Lateran is situated today. (The outer side chambers, too, would be immediately accessible from this point.) The golden farum weighing 30 lbs. would have been suspended just in front of it.

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[1] See Fig. 18. *Ibid*., plan on p. 70, fig. 7. The width of the nave is 18.40 ms. The apse opening is about 15 ms. wide, leaving approximately 1-1/2 ms. of space between the apse and the nave arcade on each side.

[2] See a later comment on these "altars" in Joannis Diaconi, *Epistola ad Senarium* (496A.D.), in Migne, *P.L.* LIX, col. 405f. Or might there have been 6 offering tables and one Eucharistic altar, as prof. Krautheimer has suggested?

The golden farum weighing 50 lbs., hanging perhaps from a golden vault, was suspended on a chain within the central bay(?) of the fastigium, probably visible over the heads of both the enthroned and seated figures of Christ. The four coronae, if they belonged to the fastigium, might have been hung in the center of four of the flanking colonnades. Their number would correspond to the number of figures of angels but not to the six openings suggested for the figures of the apostles. The apostles, in fact, either held or wore crowns (cum coronas). It seems likely, then, that the four coronae might have been hung above the four angels, which faced the bishop in the apse.

As tentatively reconstructed here, the fastigium comprised a double row of four columns on each side of a central opening. This is reminiscent of the double row of three columns on either side of a central opening at St. Peter's, accomplished through a rebuilding of Gregory the Great at the end of the 6th century and of Gregory III

(731-41).[1] One wonders if the final composition, the double row of columns with architrave above, which stood before and on each side of the confession of St. Peter and the apse of the church (see fig. 39), might have been made to resemble the earlier architectural arrangement at the Lateran (See appendix A). Images of Christ and the apostles decorated the architraves above the columns at St. Peter's.[2]

One notes that these silver images at St. Peter's were probably connected to the architraves, perhaps even carved in relief and overlaid with silver, since the weight of architrave and figures was given together. As we have seen, the evidence at the Lateran indicates that the figures there were probably in the round and stood beneath the *fastigium*. If the silver figures did stand beneath the *fastigium*, why was there no repetition of this arrangement later? There are 5th and 6th century texts in the *Liber Pontificalis* describing gold and silver images of Christ and the apostles placed above the confessions of both Peter and Paul,[1] the former under arcades, but the descriptions also indicate that these are fashioned in relief. Mosaics in other Christian churches sometimes portray figures of the enthroned Christ flanked by angels holding spears,[2] or by the apostles carrying crowns, approaching Christ or His throne.[3]

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[1] See pp. 180f. below on the reconstruction of Gregory the Great and note 3, p. 351 for the text of Gregory III.

[2] See Appendix A, n.3, p.351. One recalls how the word *fastigium* was actually used in the 9th c. to describe a structure in the area of this screen at St. Peter's.

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[1] Sixtus III (432-40):

> Ex huis supplicatione optulit Valentinianus Augustus imaginem auream cum XII portas et apostolos XII et Salvatorem gemmis pretiosissimis ornatam, quem voti gratiae suae super confessionem beati Petri apostoli posuit. (Duchesne, L.P., I, p. 233.)

Symmachus (498-514):

> Item aput beatum Paulum apostolum: . . . et super confessionem imaginem argenteam cum Salvatorem et XII apostolos posuit, qui pens. lib. CXX. (Ibid., p. 262)

[2] See Ibid., p. 191, n. 29. Examples are found at Ravenna, at S. Apollinare Nuovo where 4 angels with spears flank the enthroned Christ and in the apse mosaic at S, Vitale where 2 angels with spears stand to each side of a seated Christ. See G. Bovini, Chiese di Ravenna (ser. Musei e Monumenti), Novara, 1957, pp. 100-101 and 134.

[3] The apostles carrying crowns circle the domes of both the Orthodox and Arian Baptisteries at Ravenna, Ibid., pp. 53 and 77. They also appear in combination with SS. on the mosaic of the first triumphal arch at S. Prassede, where angels also flank a standing figure of Christ in the center. See Van der Meer, Maiestas Domini, p. 75, fig. 14.

The explanation of why the Lateran structure was never repeated on a large scale seems obvious enough and may partly account for the obscurity surrounding the form and purpose of the _fastigium_ itself. During the rising and continuing struggle over the use of any images in the Christian church, the appearance of the large, silver images in-the-round of Christ, the apostles, and the angels sheltered by the elaborate structure of the _fastigium_ could have seemed all too reminiscent of the pagan use of images of the gods.

A _fastigium_ on the aedicula in the Temple of Jupiter has already been cited.[1] This _fastigium_ must have stood above the cult statue within the _cella_. Fragments of another aedicula for a cult statue were recovered in the niche of the _cella_ of the temple of Fortuna at Pompeii.[2] Still other aediculas, crowned with pediments, contained figures of the deified emperors.[3] Thus statues of gods, often made of precious metals, stood beneath canopies decorated with pediments. It would not seem out of keeping for Constantine to choose such venerated forms, especially fashioned in precious metal, to enshrine the figures of Christ, the twelve apostles and angels.

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[1] See p. 60 and note 2, p. 60 above.

[2] See T. Warsher, _Codex Topographicus Pompejanus_, Regio VII, Ins. IV, p. I, Rome, 1938, photos 8-17. Also, A. Mau, "Der Tempel der Fortuna Augusta in Pompeii," in _Roemische Mitteilungen_, 1896, p. 280.

[3] See coin of Domitian (cited in n. 2, p. 70 above) and Calendar of 354 (see n. 3, p. 70 above). The niche of the imperial cult at Luxor also contained a canopy, which

But some of the fathers and theologians of the early church would have immediately taken issue with Constantine over his choice of these forms for a Christian church. Theologians, especially of the Eastern Church, from the 3rd century took a stand against the making of any images for Christian use. Clement of Alexandria, Eusebius of Caesarea and St. Jerome, as well as Tertullian in North Africa, all denounced them.[1] Thus Eusebius denounces a bronze statue of Christ put up outside the house of the woman with the issue of blood.[2] And, when the imperial lady Costanza wrote to Eusebius wishing to obtain "an image" of Christ, Eusebius firmly but politely

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may have sheltered a statue of the emperor Diocletian. See U. Monneret de Villard, "The Temple of the Imperial Cult at Luxor," in Archaeologia XCV, 1953, pp. 102-103.

[1] See DACL, art. "Images," Tome VII, pt. 1, cols. 211-13.

[2] Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History, VII, c. 18 in Schaff and Wace, p. 304.

refused to supply one, stating that the only true image of our Lord is to be found in His words in the Gospels.[1]

However, not all the clergy in the early Church prohibited images. When the iconoclastic controversy broke out in the East in the 8th century, a text in the Liber Pontificalis under Gregory II records how the faithful at Constantinople had to bring all their images of Christ, the apostles, prophets, saints, etc., to be burned.[2] Although most of these were undoubtedly paintings and not statues, it indicates that the Christian populace of Constantinople did possess representations of Christ, the apostles, etc., at that time.

The Western Church seems to have been even less strict in regard to images. The fact that Costanza wanted an image of Christ is significant. The Liber Pontificalis records the use of figures made of gold and silver several times during its early history. The size and nature of these "images" is not always clear. Sometimes they may be plaques or small figurines.[1] But sometimes the weight

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[1] Epistola ad Constantiam Augustam, in Migne, P.G., XX, cols. 1546-50. The letter ends (col. 1550): Salvatoris nostri imagines magni aestimatis, quemnam habebimus meliorem pictorem quam ipsum Dei Verbum? She must have requested a painted image and not a statue.

[2] Duchesne, L.P., I, p. 409:

> . . . compelleret omnes Constantinopolim habitantes, tam virtute quamque blandimentis, et deponeret ubicumque haberentur imagines tam Salvatoris quamque eius sanctae genetricis vel omnium sanctorum, eas in medio civitatis, quod dicere crudele est, incenderet.

See also a similar text under Gregory III (731-41), Ibid., p. 415.

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[1] See pp. 81-82 above and note 1, p. 82 for descriptions of images at St. Peter's and St. Paul's that were probably in relief. In the life of Silvester, the word sigillis is often used to refer to small figures, probably in relief, on large candelabra at the Lateran and St. Peter's (Ibid., p. 172, 176), on the silver confession of St. Laurence (p. 181), and on the tomb (sarcophagus?) of Helena in porphyry (p. 182). If the many 5th-to-9th c. records of "images" given to Roman churches in the Liber Pontificalis record either a low weight of silver, or a weight in combination with an architectural member, then the chances are that the piece is either a placque or figurine or appears in relief on the architectural member in question. The word "image" in itself, along with effigies, seems to denote no particular mode of representation. Some other examples of the types of entries mentioned above follow.

(1) Hilarus (461-68) on the Oratory of the Holy Cross at the Lateran:

> supra confessionem arcum aureum qui pens. lib. IIII, quem portant columnae unichinae, ubi stat agnus aureus pens. lib. II. (Ibid., p. 242.)

(2) Gregory III (731-41) at S. Maria Maggiore in the Oratory of the Praecepe:

> imaginem aureum Dei genetricis amplectentem Salvatorem dominum Deum nostrum in gemmis diversis, pens. lib. V. (Ibid., p. 418.)

(3) Gregory III (Ibid., p. 419) at St. Andrea at St. Peter's:

> et fecit in eadem basilica imaginem auream

of the figure or context of the record clearly indicates

> in gemmis beati Andree apostoli, pens. lib. VIII.

(4) Hadrian (772-95) at St. Peter's:

> Fecit etiam eius ter beatitudo imagines VI ex lamminis argenteis investitas ex quibus tres posuit super rugas qui sunt in introitu presbyterii, ubi et regularem ex argento investito fecit, et posuit super eundem regularem praefatas tres imagines: in medio quidem imago existentem habentem depictum vultum Salvatoris et ex utriusque lateribus imagines habentes depictas effigies, unam beati Michahelis et aliam beati Gabrihelis angelorum. In secundas vero rugas, id est in medio presbiterii, faciens alium regularem ex argento investito, constituit super eum reliquas tres imagines: in medio quidem habentem praefiguratum vultum sanctae Dei genetricis, et ex duobus lateribus unam habentem vultum depictum sancti Andree apostoli et aliam sancti Iohannis evangelistae. Utrasque vero sex imagines, ut dictum est, de lamminis argenteis nimis pulcherrime factas deauravit, in quibus imaginibus posuit argenti libras C. (*Ibid*., p. 503.)

(5) Leo III (795-816):

> Interea in basilica beati Christi martyris Laurenti, sita foras muros, fecit imagines argenteas III, Salvatoris, beati Petri apostoli et sancti Laurenti, pens. simul. lib. LIII semis. (*Ibid*., II, 2.)

(6) Leo III (*Ibid*., p. 16) on a silver ciborium given to S. Petronilla: *atque imaginem argenteam stante sub arco di ipso cyburio, pens. lib. X et semis*.

An *imaginem in modum evangeliorum* must refer to a placque fashioned in relief in the manner of a gold or silver evangeliary cover: Hadrian (*Ibid*., I, p. 511):

> Fecit vero et in confessione beati Pauli apostoli ex auro purissimo imaginem in modum evangeliorum,

a larger piece of statuary in the round.[1] By the 8th and 9th centuries, images seem to occupy an elevated position,

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> intus super eiusdem sacratissimum corpus, pens. lib. XX.

See also p. 513 for another example from S. Lorenzo.

There are a few texts which are difficult to interpret in any way. See text of Sergius (687-701):

> Hic fecit imaginem auream beati Petri apostoli quae est in parte mulierum. Hic fecit tymiamaterium aureum maiorem cum columnis et coperculo, quem suspendit ante imagines tres aureas beati Petri apostoli, . . . (Ibid., p. 374)

and the text in n. 3 , p. 351 below.

[1] (1) Under Silvester are the figures from the Lateran Baptistery. See p. 63 and n. 1, p. 63 above.

(2) Sixtus III (432-40) gave to the tomb of St. Laurence: *absidam super cancellos, cum statuam beati Laurenti martyris argenteam, pens. lib. CC*. (*Ibid*., p. 234.)

(3) Gregory III (731-41) for an oratorium at St. Peter's near the triumphal arch in the left aisle (*parte virorum*):

> et in imaginem sancte Dei genetricis diademam auream in gemmis et collare aurem in gemmis, cum gemmis pendentibus, inaures habentes iacinthias sex; . . . (*Ibid*., p. 418.)

A diadem and collar (or necklace) with gems suspended from it sounds as if it might have been added to a 3-dimensional image of not too small a size. It is true that these appear on mosaics at Ravenna but as part of the original composition.

(4) Gregory III, (*Ibid*., p. 419): *Item imaginem sancte Dei genetricis antiquam deargentavit ac investivit de argento mundissimo, pens. lib. L*; . . . This entry refers to an "image" from an earlier time, whose position is not noted here (see *Ibid*., p. 424, n. 19). If the "image" was plated with 50 lbs. of silver, it must have

standing usually on an architrave in a space clearly above

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been of some size, perhaps in the round.

(5) Paulus (757-67) at St. Peter's:

> secus fores introitus sancte Petronillae atque beati Andree apostoli . . . .; ubi et effigiem sancte Dei genetricis in statu ex argento deaurato, qui pens. lib. CL constituit. (Ibid., p. 465.)

(6) Hadrian (772-95):

> pontifex fecit imaginem ex lamminis argenteis deaurata, habentem effigiem Salvatoris domini nostri Iesu Christi, qui posita est super introitum basilicae beati Petri apostoli, ubi portas argenteas existunt, qui pens. lib. L (Ibid., p. 504.)

(7) Leo III (795-816) at St. Paul's:

> et tres imagines aureas ibidem offeruit, scilicet Salvatoris domini nostri Iesu Christi, beatorum principum, apostolorum Petri et Pauli, seu aliam imaginem argenteam Salvatoris deauratam super postes in introitu posuit, pens. lib. LX, sed et omne argentum ibidem quod conquassatum inerat noviter restaurit. (Ibid., II, pp. 9-10.)

(8) Leo III on St. Peter's (Ibid., p. 15):

> Fecit quoque isdem praecipuus praesul ubi supra imaginem Salvatoris auream, quae stat in trabe super ingressum vestibuli, pens. lib. LXXVIIII.
>
> Fecit autem in basilica doctoris mundi beati Pauli apostoli angelos ex argento purissimo deauratos II, qui stant iuxta imaginem Salvatoris in ingressum vestibuli, pens. lib. C et semis.

(9) Leo III at St. Peter's (Ibid., p. 27):

> Fecit vero isdem praeclarus pontifex ante confessionem ipsius apostolorum principis angelos ex argento purissimo deauratos dextra levaque, pens. inibi lib. CXLVI; . . .

The above 3 entries cite representative examples from Leo's reign.

the level of the faithful themselves.[1] But the use of statuary in general seems to have continued in the Roman Church and may well stem from the original use of life-sized figures of Christ, angels, and apostles, which faced the clergy and faithful from beneath a silver _fastigium_ at the Lateran basilica. On the other hand the use of images in this kind of setting and at this level probably immediately died out because of its associations with paganism and the imperial cult. Thus, the very forms of decoration through which Constantine sought to honor the first Christian cathedral may well have become the subject of criticism in the later Church, which perhaps sought even to eradicate their true significance.

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[1] This note and the two before it study material in the _Liber Pontificalis_ from the pontificate of Silvester through the reign of Leo III. Examples of figures or "images" placed above the level of the faithful may be found in note 1, p.86, nos. 4 and 5, and in note 1, p.88, nos. 6-8, all from the reign of Hadrian and Leo III. Other examples from the records of Leo III appear in _Ibid_., pp. 10 and 27.

Chapter Two

LATE FOURTH TO MID-FIFTH CENTURY

1. Catacomb Church and Chapel Canopies

From the late 4th and early 5th centuries in Rome, evidence of canopy structures appears in the catacombs. These structures are often part of a remodelling program in which the graves, arcosolia, or loculi, of venerated martyrs become the focal point of a memoria, a chapel created by clearing and enlarging the surrounding area within the catacomb, wherein the faithful gathered for mass on the feast-day of the martyr. Canopies in this kind of setting rose over the graves of Alexander, Eventius, and Theodulus on the Via Nomentana and possibly stood over the graves of Nereus and Achilleus in the Catacomb of Domitilla and of Felix and Philip in the Catacomb of Priscilla. Such structures may also have existed in other catacomb churches or chapels, such as at S. Agnese f. l. m., in the basilica commemorating SS. Simplicius, Faustinus, and Viatrix at the Catacomb of Generosa, at the Catacomb of Zoticus on the Via Lavicana, and possibly at the *memoria* of S. Ermete. Sometimes the canopy shelters an altar which stands above the tomb, as well as the grave of the martyr.

a. St. Alexander, Via Nomentana

According to G. Belvedere,[1] sometime during the 4th century the catacomb chamber or gallery around the double tomb of the martyrs Eventius and Alexander[2] was hollowed out to form a small chapel.[3] Around the year 400 a Bishop Ursus refurbished this whole *memoria*. Important for this study is the canopy included in his decoration of the tomb of Alexander and Eventius itself. We know from what remains of the decoration on the spot (see fig. 20) including an inscription above the tomb, the approximate date and form, especially of the lower part, of the monument.

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[1] G. Belvedere, "La Basilica e il cimetero di S. Alessandro al VII miglio sulla Via Nomentana," in *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana*, A. XIV, 1937, pp. 7-40 and 199-224; A. XV, 1938, pp. 19-34 and 225-246.

[2] See O. Marucchi, *Il Cimetero e la Basilica di S. Alessandro*, Roma, 1922, pp. 9-11 and Belvederi, *R.A.C.*, 1937, pp. 19-27 for discussions of the identification of the Saints buried on this site. Alexander is thought to be the early 2nd c. Bishop of Rome.

[3] Belvederi, *R.A.C.*, 1937, p. 201f. Belvederi also found a round, fluted marble piece near-by, which forms a

Ursus had walls built up around the double tomb to the height of about 4 ft.[1] He faced the "front" of the tomb with a marble perforated screen resembling a chancel railing. A small rectangular window opens in the center of this screen forming a _fenestella_, and small colonnettes seem to have flanked the screen at the two front corners.[2] An inscription ran across the top of the front and down the right side of the screen. While the upper left section of it is destroyed, the remains read: . . . ET ALEXANDRO DELICATVS VOTO POSVIT DEDICANTE AEPISCOP VRS. The missing beginning might have been: SANCTIS MARTYRIBVS EVENTIO ET ALEXANDRO . . . . Indeed a 7th century itinerary lists the bodies of Alexander and Eventius as buried in the same tomb on the Via Nomentana, with another martyr, Teodulus, buried near-by.[3]

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kind of table on which, he thinks, the offerings of food and wine for the agape might have been placed. (_Ibid_., p. 219, fig. 34.)

[1] The front wall of the tomb was 3'11 1/2" tall by my measurements, taken in 1958. The area occupied by the double tomb, according to Marucchi, _Cimetero e Basilica di S. Alessandro_, p. 14, is 1.90 x 0.75 ms.

[2] The remnants of small plinths, plus the indented corners of the front of the monument indicate this. They cannot be seen clearly on the photograph (fig. 20).

[3] Marucchi, _Catacombe Romane_, pp. 414-415.

Marucchi[1] has identified the Ursus referred to in the inscription as the bishop of Ficula, a township near the Catacomb. This Ursus was mentioned by Pope Innocent I in a letter of 415 A.D.[2] If this is correct, the monument may also date from the same general period. Belvederi[3] feels that a date of about 415 agrees with the lettering of the inscription and the mode of building used in the walls belonging to the remodelling of the *memoria*.

Two small marble column bases and fragments of marble columns which were found near the *memoria* probably stood upon the walls built around the double tomb. These fragments seem to have belonged originally to a canopy placed above the tomb. Both of the bases are inscribed. On one are the words: *IVNIA. SABINA.C.F.EIVS FECERVNT*; on the other: *SANCTORVM (O)RNAVIT* (fig. 20). The inscription no doubt records the donor of this decoration, erected in honor of the saints buried there. That the bases originally supported the colonnettes of a canopy is indicated first by their size in relation to the monument, and secondly by the fact that one corner at the bottom of each base has been carved out to fit around a rectangular slab (see fig. 20). These indentations make it possible to place the two remaining column bases upon the walls surrounding the tomb at their proper corners in the reconstruction and to surmise the original existence of two more bases on the other two corners of the monument. It is possible to make a guess about what originally fit into these indentations.

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[1] Marucchi, *Cimetero e Basilica di S. Alessandro*, p. 9.

[2] Text in Migne, *P.L.*, XX, col. 606.

[3] Belvederi, *R.A.C.*, 1937, p. 11 and pp. 221-23.

When this _memoria_ was discovered in 1854, the monument around the tomb was, at that time, ornamented with rare marble, with interior and exterior walls faced by alabaster in back and with a _mensa_ of porphyry (_e con la mensa di porfido_).[1] In 1922 some of the marble decorations remained, but the "_mensa_ of porphyry" was missing. The indentations in the marble colonnettes suggest where this slab of porphyry, still in place in 1854, was probably placed.

It seems reasonable also to suppose that the slab of porphyry did indeed serve as a _mensa_, on which the Eucharist was celebrated on the feast-day of these martyrs.

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[1] _Ibid_., p. 224.

The columns of the canopy, then, would fit around the four corners of the *mensa* and would rise above both the tomb and the altar. There is no evidence to indicate if the columns might have supported a simple architrave or a ribbed vault, as we have seen at St. Peter's.[1] (See fig. 1).

The problem of the *mensa* in the late 4th century and its relation to a canopy structure will be explored further in a later chapter. One must consider this problem in order to determine the real purpose of the canopy structure, whether it is primarily to cover the tomb or the altar. This consideration brings up still another problem: was the *mensa* above the tomb always used for the celebration of the Eucharist or did it serve as a depository for offerings for funeral banquets? Some evidence has been presented under the discussion of St. Peter's[1] to suggest that in the late 4th century, the agape or refrigerium, which involved the offerings of food and wine by the faithful for a funerary banquet, was on the decline. The clergy favored a more sacred devotion, which involved the celebration of the Eucharist alone. The other elements discovered around the tomb-monument of Alexander and Eventius suggest that this may have been the case there.

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[1] It seems unlikely that the fragment of an architrave containing the inscription *CHRISTI SIGNIFER URSVS* (*Ibid*., 1938, pp. 244-45, fig. 68) once belonged to the canopy, even though it contains the name of Ursus. The architrave fragment was reused in a construction around the altar of the small church next to the *memoria* of SS. Alexander and Eventius (see fig 19, 7, & 8). However, this church and the *memoria* next to it were used simultaneously until the bodies of the martyrs were transferred from the cemetery complex under Pasqual I to S. Prassede. Thus, it seems unlikely that part of a monument that was still in use would have been re-used in a slightly later construction of the 5th century, unless of course the upper part of the canopy had been damaged and had to be remade in barbarian invasions of the later 5th century (see *Ibid*., p. 245-46) or earthquakes (See n. 1 , p. 114 below).

In the first place, the use of a chamber to the East of the memorial chapel, which in the 4th century seems to have served as the entrance to the Memoria, must have changed its purpose in the early 5th century. A study of the walls between the tomb and this second chamber suggests to Belvederi that there were originally three entrances in the wall which opened from catacomb galleries (fig. 19, galleries 18 & 20) directly into the chapel. He concludes that the chamber may have served as a triclia for funerary banquets because he associates it with the similar arrangement at the Memoria of Peter and Paul beneath S. Sebastiano.[1] If the room did serve for funerary banquets in the 4th century, its purpose seems to have been changed by the remodelling of the early 5th century because low walls filled in two of the entrances. However, Ursus also moved the entrance to the *Memoria*[2] so that the chamber to the East of the tomb no longer served as a main entrance to the memorial chapel.

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[1] See p. 20 above.

Secondly, a low chancel wall was erected around an area in front of the double tomb, forming a sacred precinct around the tomb, which the faithful may have entered for devotion, as shown on the Pola Casket at St. Peter's. Belvederi found that both these walls and the ones mentioned above, which filled in two of the entrances to the near-by chamber, are of the same composition as those which form the inner part of the tomb monument itself.[3] Thus, all this construction probably dates from the remodelling of Ursus.

A third element, which may date from the same time, a chair, possibly a clergy seat or a bishop's throne, perhaps for Ursus himself, was placed behind the tomb-altar

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[1] Belvederi, *RAC*, 1937, p. 201f.

[2] *Ibid*.

[3] *Ibid*., pp. 210-211.

(fig. 19). This, particularly, attests to the sacred character of the devotions practiced here,[1] and is, according to Marucchi,[2] one of the earliest examples of a bishop's chair found in a catacomb church. (Marucchi must have assumed that this was a bishop's chair for Ursus, since his inscription was placed on the front of the monument.) Belvederi's investigations[3] indicate that originally there was a wall directly behind the tomb-monument, which stood on the same oblique angle as the tomb. He suggests that the need for more space behind the tomb presumably for Eucharistic celebrations by the clergy led to a slightly later enlargement. An inscription of 454 A.D. rests under the walls of the back addition. Thus, sometimes perhaps in the latter part of the 5th century, the chair may have been moved to its present location, after more space had been provided for it. This chair, in particular, suggests that the Eucharist was probably celebrated over the tomb on the feast day of the martyrs from the late 4th or early 5th century on.

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[1] Th. Klauser, *Kathedra In Totenkult, Münster, 1927*, suggests that such thrones might be for the defunct. This seems to me unlikely. The enlargement behind the throne (see sentences below in text) suggests that the actual *use* of the throne, probably by clergy, demanded that more space be provided around it.

[2] Marucchi, *Cimitero e Basilica di S. Alessandro*, p. 17.

[3] Belvederi, *R.A.C.*, 1937, pp. 213-214.

The canopy over the tomb of Alexander and Eventius was not the only one in this catacomb complex. Fragments of a second one have been found in the chamber adjoining the *memoria* of Alexander and Eventius on the East (see X on fig. 19, no. 6). It seems reasonable to suggest that this second canopy surrounded the tomb of Theodulus, the 3rd martyr buried on this site.[1] The arch of a more recent wall had cut into this canopy structure (fig. 21). Fragments of four stone columns are visible rising from stone bases placed on the floor, marking off a rectangular area. The left front column, with its capital, measures about 5 ft. off the ground and is pretty much intact, along with the lower parts of the other three columns. Fragments also remain of a marble chancel railing, which ran across the "front" of the monument, and indentations are carved into the sides of the two "front" columns at a height of about 3 ft. off the floor, into which the two ends of the chancel fit. There is no other indentation elsewhere on this column. Thus, the chancel may have screened just the "front" part of the monument which faced into the chamber adjoining the tombs of Alexander and Eventius.

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[1] *Ibid*., p. 19 and Marucchi, *Cimitero e Basilica di S. Alessandro*, pp. 18-19. See Belvederi, *RAC*, 1938, p. 19 on the *passio* of Eventius, Alexander and Theodulus and p. 93, note 1 above for reference to the 7th c. itinerary associating this site with the three martyrs mentioned here.

The chancel railing itself was perforated with a pattern of rising half-circles. A piece of the top part of the railing was recovered and bears a few letters of an inscription, below which begin the half-circle perforations. The letters spell ARTIPI, which is probably from the word MARTIRI,[1] referring probably to the martyr Theodulus.

However, it does not seem likely that an altar stood over the tomb. The chancel railing only spanned the "front" of the monument, and there is no evidence of any other material in the space beneath the canopy. Belvederi feels that the remains of Theodulus were later removed and placed beneath the altar at the chord of the apse of a small basilica opposite the grave of Eventius and Alexander[2] (fig. 19, 7 & 8). His tomb no longer remains beneath the canopy, and it may originally, as a sarcophagus beneath the canopy or as a loculus in a catacomb gallery, have risen above the ground behind the chancel railing. In the case of the latter possibility, the gallery would have had to be destroyed, at least in part, to accommodate the construction of the canopy.

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[1] Ibid., p. 23 and fig. 41.

[2] Belvederi, R.A.C., 1938, pp. 225-246.

The height of the columns also indicates that an altar was probably not present in this complex. It would be difficult for a person to stand beneath a canopy whose columns measured only 5 ft. in height. Thus, this canopy probably protected and honored the tomb, as Belvederi has also suggested.[1] No doubt, an architrave or arches once rested on the four columns.

In a small room to the North of the chamber containing Theodulus's tomb, the discovery of another fragment of the lower part of a marble chancel railing, in the same design of half-circle perforations and containing the letters of an inscription on its lower frame,[2] suggests that still other decorations of venerated tombs existed in this complex, perhaps also dating from the time of Bishop Ursus.

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[1] Ibid., p. 25.

[2] Ibid., p. 22 and fig. 40. The remnants of the inscription read: TA . . . . ISSICA BOTVM.

b. SS. Nereus and Achilleus at the Catacomb of Domitilla

De Rossi, in the Bullettino of 1874, described his discoveries made in 1873 at the Catacomb of Domitilla. There he found the remnants of a basilica built into a catacomb. He also found fragments of a marble placque containing verses by Pope Damasus, of columns, and of an architrave, all of which may have belonged to a canopy shrine on this site.

Most of the above fragments bear the remnants of an inscription. On two pieces are parts of an epitaph written by Pope Damasus, which is known from manuscripts.[1] This epitaph honors the martyrs Nereus and Achilleus, who, according to later documents,[2] were buried at this site near the grave of S. Petronilla. According to de Rossi, the syllogus of Einsiedeln indicates that the epigram was placed in sepulcro Nerei et Achillei, Via Appia.[1]

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[1] Styger, Römische Martyrergrüfte, Vol. I, p. 166.

[2] Duchesne, L.P., I, p. 276 under the life of Pope John I (523-26): *Hic papa Iohannis refecit cymeterium beatorum martyrum Nerei et Achillei, Via Ardiatina*. The Epitome of the mid 7th century records: *Iuxta viam ardentinam ecclesia et scae petronellae ibi quoque scs nereus et scs achileus sunt et ipsa petronella sepulta*. See discussion of sources in de Rossi, Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana, 1874, p. 1f.

The largest of the three fragments of white marble columns, found in or near the apse of the basilica,[2] is inscribed with the name ACILLEVS (fig. 22). Below the name is shown a relief of the martyrdom of S. Achilleus. The column was topped by a simple moulding which may or may not have supported a capital above. The fragment measures about 0.25 cm. in diameter,[3] and what remains of it rises to a height of about 1.05 ms. (42-43 inches).

A second, much smaller fragment of a column, of the same diameter, reveals the very bottom of what must have been a representation of the martyrdom of S. Nereus, corresponding to that of S. Achilleus above. The lower confines of the relief are visible, along with the remnants of two feet.[4]

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[1] DACL, art. "Domitilla," Vol. 4, pt. 2, col. 1412; De Rossi, Insc. Crist, II, 1, 31.

[2] The fragment described first was found in the right side aisle of the basilica.

[3] De Rossi, Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana, 1875, p. 7. See also Tav. IV represented in scale.

[4] See Ibid., Tav. IV.

A third column fragment is without embellishment, except for the moulding at its top. Its diameter is approximately the same as the other two, and from its broken bottom to top, it rises to a height of 1.10 ms. (43-44 inches). This column fragment could hardly have belonged to the column containing the representation of the martyrdom of St. Nereus. It is slightly higher than the fragment containing the martyrdom ~~of St. Nereus. It is slightly higher than the fragment containing the martyrdom~~ of S. Achilleus, and the spot where the martyrdom of S. Nereus should appear in order to correspond to the position of the relief of S. Achilleus is plain and uncarved. Therefore, this fragment must have belonged to a third column in the series, suggesting that there was originally a fourth column also.

It would also appear that the first two column fragments must have occupied a position of importance, for they bear the relief carvings showing the two martyrs, and that the third plain fragment must have been relegated to a less prominent position. Since the size and number of the columns suggest that they may have belonged to a canopy over the double grave of the two martyrs, the two columns with carvings probably faced the faithful from the apse of the catacomb church, whereas two plain columns may have completed the structure behind.[1]

A remnant of a marble architrave containing the letters LEUS, discovered on the site, probably rested on the mouldings of the columns and finished the top of the shrine. This fragment probably belonged to the right front corner of the shrine. Thus the architrave above the shrine as well as the two front columns, probably named the two martyrs buried there. The fragment is 6 cm. high, on which the letters stand 4 cm. in height. It measures 12 cm. in depth,[2] approximately half the diameter of the columns on which it probably rested. It may be that a second piece joined it at the rear in order to span the 25 cm. diameter of the columns. The architrave seems clearly to have been placed in a position above eye level. The moulding is carved so that the lettering is placed on a surface that inclines outward and, therefore, can be easily seen from below (see fig. 23b).

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[1] It is possible, too, as prof. Krautheimer has suggested, that this structure could be a pergola. My reasons for thinking it is a canopy are given below. See p. 245, in Part II.

[2] A. Silvagni and A. Ferrua, Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae, Vatican city, 1956, vol. III (new series): Coemeteria in Via Ardeatina, p. 234, #8134.

So far, we have discussed some of the elements which may have been combined to form the upper part of a canopy. Because of the inscriptions and carvings on the fragments of architrave and columns, they must have stood over or near the grave of Nereus and Achilleus who were buried on this site. But, because nothing remains of the monument itself, it is difficult to suggest what the lower part of the structure was like. The stone placque containing the verses of Pope Damasus was, no doubt, part of the complex. This placque not only raises questions about the composition of the monument but also about its dating.

Damasus composed many epigrams to honor the martyrs during his pontificate from 366-84 A.D. These are inscribed on stone and placed at the graves of martyrs in catacombs or churches. In the catacomb church of SS. Nereus and Achilleus, de Rossi uncovered evidence which indicates that the basilica could not date before the year 390, after the reign of Damasus.[1] Krautheimer, much more recently, even suggests that the brickwork of the basilica does not date until ca. 600 A.D.[2]

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[1] See discussion in Bullettino, 1874, p. 26f.

[2] The brickwork, he feels, is like that at St. Agnese f.l.m. and at S. Pancrazio.

De Rossi distinguished walls next to the apse of the catacomb basilica which belong to an earlier construction (see black markings on fig. 24) but parts of which were incorporated into the church in order that the chamber containing the tomb of S. Petronilla, which may have stood a short distance behind the apse, would be easily accessible.[1] The construction of the basilica itself involved the demolition of several catacomb galleries which stood on two levels below the site of the church (see fig. 24). One of these galleries, which ran below the left aisle of the church, contained a sepulchral inscription of the year 390 A.D.[2] De Rossi concludes that the church, therefore, was not yet under construction at that time. De Rossi found a second inscription of the year 395 A.D. on the floor of the basilica.[3] This seemed to be a burial made within the new catacomb church and suggested to him that the basilica was in use by then. Thus, the clearing away of the site and the construction of the building may have taken place sometime between 390 and 395. The lettering and figure style of relief carving also suggest about the same date,[1] and that the shrine may have been part of the decoration of the late 4th century basilica.

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[1] De Rossi, Bullettino, 1874, "Pianta della Basilica di S. Petronilla nel Cimitero di Domitilla," p. 69. It is possible that at a later time St. Petronilla's remains were also moved into a grave in this apse, perhaps when the apse floor was raised. See text below and notes 2, p. 109 and 3, p. 111. The epitaph of Damasus speaks only of the two martyrs and indicates that Petronilla was probably not buried in the apse during his pontificate.

[2] Bullettino, 1874, p. 16.

[3] Ibid., p. 27.

Krautheimer, on the other hand, feels that the inscription of 395 found in the floor of the basilica was simply a slab re-used in the floor of the church when it was constructed ca. 600. He suggests that the earlier walls (black markings on fig. 24) formed a cubiculum that dated from the late 4th century and which was used until the basilica was constructed approximately 2 centuries later.

It is surmised that two of the empty graves uncovered beneath the floor of the apse probably belonged to Nereus and Achilleus.[2] Their remains were transferred from this site at a later date.[1] The slightly oblique position of these graves in the apse seems associated with the structure to the right, probably part of a cubiculum erected before the basilica. The wall on the right of the basilica, which was part of this earlier structure and which penetrates into the right aisle of the church, runs in the same direction as the right side of the apse. The whole right-hand side of the church is off-center from the rest of the basilica, indicating that this section may have taken its direction from the earlier structure on the site.[2] It seems possible that this earlier structure comprised a chamber hollowed out around the graves of the two martyrs, as also occurred at S. Alessandro on the via Nomentana. Then, at a later time, when more space was needed to celebrate the feast of the martyrs, a basilica was constructed around the chamber and the celebrated tombs. Perhaps only that part of the original chamber was left which may have connected with the cubiculum containing the tomb of S. Petronilla.[1] Another passage leading to this cubiculum communicated with the apse itself (see fig. 24D).

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[1] O. Marucchi, Monumenti del Cimitero di Domitilla (Roma Sotteranea, n.s., I, 1), Rome, 1914, p. 174.

[2] See Marucchi, Catacombe Romane, pp. 154-55 and fig. 36.

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[1] De Rossi, Bullettino, 1874, p. 31. The remains of Nereus and Achilleus were probably transferred to S. Adriano in the Roman forum in 1213, but they may have been moved from the catacomb to their titulus church before that. The 3rd grave in the apse may have at one time belonged to Petronilla. (See n. 1, p. 108 above.)

[2] So suggests Marucchi, Catacombe Romane, p. 155.

The Damasian placque, then, probably belonged to the original chamber or cubiculum hollowed out around the tombs of Nereus and Achilleus. When the basilica was constructed either at the end of the 4th or 6th century, the placque would have been incorporated into the new scheme.[2]

The remodelling of the basilica was undertaken at several points in its history. De Rossi found evidence of it in his excavations and assigned walls within the nave of the church (C in fig. 24) and the raising of the floor of the apse to a later remodelling project.[3] This project, he felt, may correspond to an entry in the Liber Pontificalis under the life of John I (523-26): Hic papa Iohannis refecit cymiterium beatorum martyrum Nerei et Achillei, Via Ardiatina.[4] The position of the walls in the nave suggests an enclosed and raised chancel of the same type that was erected at S. Clemente under the reign of Pope Hormisdas (514-23) by a priest Mercurius, who later became John I.[1] If this were so, then the basilica might date from the late 4th century. If the whole building were late 6th century, then what would have comprised the remodelling project of John?

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[1] See De Rossi, Bullettino, 1875, p. 11f and Tav. II and III.

[2] De Rossi suggests an alternative proposal in Bullettino, 1874, pp. 28-29, that the placque for Nereus and Achilleus was not completed at the time of Damasus's death and that the whole redecorating of the site of Domitilla was undertaken under Pope Siricius (384-99) to complete the plans of Damasus.

[3] Ibid., p. 70. [4] Duchesne, L.P., p. 276.

The walls of the apse in de Rossi's report also had the imprints of clergy seats and a Bishop's or priest's chair, which may have stood in the niche, about one meter wide and one meter deep, at the back of the apse. There is no longer any other trace of these furnishings. The niche is placed slightly off-center, like the right walls of the apse and basilica, and may correspond to the earliest chamber hollowed out around the martyr's tombs. According to de Rossi, a graffito scratched in the niche and no longer visible depicted a seated priest wearing a chasuble.[2]

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[1] See p. 176, n.2 below for the inscription that identifies Mercurius with Pope John I. See also Thomas Mathews, "An Early Roman Chancel Arrangement and its Liturgical Functions," in Rivista di Arch. Crist, 38, 1961, p. 73f. This type of chancel barrier, according to Fr. Mathews, was developed in the mid 5th c. and continued until the 11th c. or even later.

[2] De Rossi, Bullettino, 1874, p. 18.

De Rossi dated the graffito in one of the earlier construction periods in the 4th century and felt it attested to the fact that the niche may always have served the officiating priest or bishop. It seems significant that the position of the niche in relation to the tombs is analogous to the placement, probably in the early 5th century, of the chair behind the tomb at S. Alessandro. There is further evidence of this arrangement in other late 4th and early 5th century catacomb basilicas suggesting again a late 4th century date for the basilica at SS. Nereus and Achilleus. The niche at the back of the apse seems more like a 4th century attribute rather than a late 6th century one.[1]

Many fragments of chancels were found all through the basilica.[2] These may have belonged to any of the construction periods. Under Pope John I, they could have formed the upper part of a chancel area in the nave and on each side of the apse.

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[1] One also wonders why there is no evidence of the remains of burials from the 5th or 6th centuries in the corridors that had to be destroyed for the construction of the church. Usually the faithful sought to be buried in large numbers near venerated tombs as at S. Alessandro. Could the original church have been completely destroyed by an earthquake and then rebuilt? See n. 1 , p. 114 below.

[2] A. Guerrieri, La Chiesa dei SS. Nereo ed Archilleo, Città del Vaticano, 1951, p. 27.

It would seem, however, that the elements used to compose the memoria of SS. Nereus and Achilleus in the 4th century were left in place or were recombined in the 6th century. If the floor of the apse were raised at that time or a new basilica constructed later, it is possible that some of the elements were re-composed in the process.[1] Perhaps some of the incisions in the columns that may have belonged to the shrine also relate to the later re-working. Their position on the columns, in any case, is somewhat puzzling.

Rectangular holes have been carved out of both the large column fragments, apparently in order to accommodate some kind of fitting (see fig. 23c and d). The plain column has an incision of this kind near the top moulding, whereas the column containing the representation of S. Achilleus has one carved out directly behind the upper part of the relief. One might suggest that a bar was placed here that ran back from this front column to the rear column. However, the plain column does not exhibit a corresponding incision. The incision near the top of the plain column might have contained the end of a curtain rod. However, the front column does not have a corresponding hole. Therefore, if the incision on the back column were used for a curtain rod, it must have spanned the back of the shrine alone. But the purpose of these incisions can only be guessed at. They may well have been carved out to accommodate new fittings in the early or late 6th century or even later.

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[1] If the church had been ruined by an earthquake in the 5th century, then the recomposition of the remaining elements might have been mandatory. See de Rossi, Bullettino, 1874, pp. 74-75.

But how were the columns used in the late 4th century? Did they rest on high or low bases or on the four corners of an altar, like the canopy at S. Alessandro? There is no evidence to support any alternative, but we can guess that an altar was probably present in the complex, especially if a clergy seat occupied a niche behind the tomb from the late 4th century and remodelling was undertaken around the tombs in order that the feast-day of these martyrs might be celebrated in the late 4th century by saying mass near or directly over the tomb, as seems to have been the case at S. Alessandro. However, at both places, the inscriptions do not mention the altar, but primarily seem to honor the martyrs who died for the faith.

c. Basilica of SS. Simplicius, Faustinus, and Viatrix at the Catacomb of Generosa

Fragments recovered in another catacomb basilica suggest that a canopy shrine may once have formed part of its decoration. A small basilica was incorporated into the hillside adjoining the catacomb chamber which probably contained the remains of the martyrs Simplicius, Faustinus, and Viatrix in the Catacomb of S. Generosa.

De Rossi in 1869 and 1877[1] published the accounts of his findings at the basilica. It was a small rectangular building with an apse at one end, which was raised two steps above the level of the floor. At the back of the apse was another smaller apse or niche. This was raised two more steps above the level of the apse and contained a simple seat, composed of a slab of marble carried by two marble supports (see fig. 25). This probably served the officiating priest or bishop. The apse pavement contained no vestiges of any fitting for an altar or canopy.[2] However, fragments of columns, capitals, and bases were scattered about the site of the basilica (see fig. 25). Piers supported the nave arcade (see fig. 26), so the columns did not serve that purpose. The small dimensions of the fragments, in fact, suggest to de Rossi that some may have served to support the mensa or altar and that others may have carried a canopy.[1]

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[1] Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana, 1869, pp. 1-16 and Roma Sotteranea Cristiana, III, Roma, 1877, p. 651f.

[2] De Rossi, Roma Sotteranea, p. 652.

There are five fragments of columns, all measuring between 20 and 24 cms. in diameter. Three bases, which probably correspond to the above fragments, are 27 cms. in diameter. Two other bases were also discovered which measure 22 and 30 cms. in diameter. The former included a low plinth, the latter a high plinth, raising the whole piece to a height of 45 cms. Eight capitals found on the site were of diverse orders. Their diameters, as those of the column fragments, ranged from 20 to 24-25 cms. These measurements[2] correspond to the 24-25 cm. diameter of the column fragments at SS. Nereus and Achilleus and do, indeed, suggest that some of the fragments from the basilica may have formed a canopy shrine. De Rossi suggests that perhaps some of the columns also decorated the front of the basilica.[3]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] All measurements are given in Ibid., p. 652, n. 1.

[3] Ibid., p. 652.

It is possible that the three bases measuring 27 cms. and the fourth measuring 22 cms., with the small plinth, may have carried the four columns of a canopy. The fifth base contained a high plinth indicating that it might have served a different purpose, either flanking the clergy seat or the apse, or possibly the entrance to the basilica, as de Rossi suggested, along with at least one or perhaps three other companion pieces. The four remaining capitals indicate that, if four columns decorated a shrine, four others must have formed decorations elsewhere in the basilica.

Still other column fragments, of smaller dimensions, were discovered in the basilica. One small base, 15 cms. in diameter, and a capital, 13 cms. in diameter, along with one fragment of a colonnette of corresponding size, may have supported the _mensa_ of the basilica.[1] If colonnettes of such small dimensions did support the _mensa_, it seems unlikely that the other columns, larger in size, could have rested on the four corners of that altar.

Two pieces of a marble architrave containing an inscription also came to light in the basilica (see fig. 25) which may possibly have rested on the larger-sized columns, if they once formed a shrine.[1] These pieces are important also for identifying the martyrs honored in this basilica, as well as helping to suggest an approximate date for the monument. The two fragments fit together to form the letters *STINO. VIATRICE*. It is this testimony, along with other epigraphic evidence,[2] which links the basilica to the martyrs Simplicius, Faustinus, and Viatrix.[3]

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[1] _Ibid_.

These three martyrs were not buried in the basilica itself but probably rested in catacomb chamber #3 (fig. 26) behind the basilica. A fresco showing the names and images of these three martyrs, along with a S. Rufianus, to each side of an enthroned Christ, decorated one wall of this chamber.[1] Furthermore, a window opened at the rear of the smaller apse containing the probable clergy seat in the basilica, into the catacomb gallery behind (at pt. 1 on fig. 26). This window faced directly into chamber #3. De Rossi has demonstrated that from this window one could probably see the actual tombs of the three martyrs. The whole basilica was dug out of the hillside to correspond with the level of the catacomb behind it, and a passageway also led from the right aisle of the building to the catacomb galleries behind (#2 in fig. 26. See also fig. 25).

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[1] The architrave, it might be noted, is of a different shape from that found at SS. Nereus and Achilleus and the one inscribed to S. Agnese (see section b. below). But it is also executed in a different style from the other two, containing refinements of form and lettering not seen in the other two. It is more like the architrave discovered at S. Ermete (see section c. below).

[2] *Ibid*., p. 647, and Tav. XLVII, #9.

[3] See *Ibid*., p. 653 for a discussion of the name *Viatrix*. De Rossi gives evidence to suggest that this, and not *Beatrix*, is the authentic name of this martyr. See also *Lauciani, Pagan & Christian Rome*, pp. 334-35.

Thus, the tombs of the three martyrs seem not to have stood within the basilica itself. But if a canopy did decorate the basilica as the fragments found there would seem to suggest, then what purpose did it serve, since it could not have stood directly over the martyrs' graves? It seems most reasonable to suggest that it may have stood over an altar used to celebrate the feast day of the three martyrs. An altar had probably stood directly above the tomb and beneath the canopy at St. Alexander's, with a chair or clergy seat in the space behind. The presence of what is probably a clergy bench in the apse of the basilica at S. Generosa suggests that the celebration of the Eucharist probably took place there. Indeed, the celebrant would probably have been the only one who could have seen the actual tomb of the three martyrs in the chamber beyond through the window in the niche. At any rate, the inscription found in the apse of the basilica does indicate that a commemorative monument of some kind may have existed there from the late 4th century.

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[1] Ibid., p. 657 and Tav. LI.

The lettering of the inscription on the fragments of architrave indicates that originally they formed part of a decoration given by Pope Damasus.[1] Other evidence uncovered in the basilica indicates that the small church itself was erected under the pontificate of Damasus. De Rossi points to the consular dates of epitaphs discovered in the pavement of the church.[2] The earliest dates from the year 382. Others bear the dates 384, 391, and 394. De Rossi concludes that the building must have been erected, then, in the year 382. It seems reasonable to suppose that the church was constructed around that time. The style of the construction and decoration, according to de Rossi, also belongs to the 4th century, and the style of the fragments of columns and capitals are of the 4th and 5th centuries.[1]

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[1] Ibid. De Rossi feels that the lettering is authentic and not a later imitation of Damasian script.

[2] Ibid. See also de Rossi, Bullettino, 1868, p. 28 and 1869, pp. 13-14 for a discussion of the epitaphs in question.

Josi has shown that remodelling occurred in the basilica at a later date.[2] Hence, some of the column fragments may belong to the remodelling project, possibly under Pope Vigilantius (537-55). The small stone columns which may have formed part of a permanent altar in the church may have belonged to the remodelling period. Originally in the late 4th century, perhaps a wooden portable altar might have been carried in for feast day celebrations. The Damasian architrave suggests, however, that at least some of the larger columns and capitals may have been used in conjunction with it. Then perhaps other decorations containing more columns were added in the 5th or 6th centuries.

The arrangement of the niche at the back of the apse is reminiscent of that in the basilica of SS. Nereus and Achilleus. There is, however, one very important difference between these two churches. The basilica of Nereus and Achilleus probably contained the tombs of the two martyrs, which a shrine in the apse may have sheltered. The tombs of Simplicius, Faustinus, and Viatrix, however, seem not to have been located in the basilica proper, but were probably accessible, perhaps even visually through a window, from it. The shrine in the apse, then, probably sheltered an altar or *mensa* on which mass was celebrated on the *Natale* of the martyrs or on which offerings for a *refrigerium* might have been placed. Here, then, it seems that the yearly commemoration of these martyrs was made *near* but not directly *at* the tombs, and that an altar, or some other accoutrement for celebrating the feast of the martyrs, may have stood beneath the canopy.

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[1] De Rossi, Roma Sotteranea, p. 652.

[2] E. Josi, "Cimitero di Generosa" in Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana, XVI, 1939, p. 325, reveals that the apse walls show two different building epochs. It is suggested that the 2nd epoch may be attributed to the time of Pope Vigilantius.

A parallel arrangement on a larger scale might have existed at the tombs of St. Agnes and St. Laurence,[1] where the large basilicas near-by probably served for funeral banquets and for mass at the *Natale* of the martyr. However, in both cases, a small church and perhaps even a shrine may have been present at the tomb itself, which was not visible from the large basilica, and an altar may have stood both at the tombs and in the basilicas.[1] De Rossi also points to the tomb of St. Petronilla,[2] whose feast was celebrated, along with that of Nereus and Achilleus, at the basilica in the catacomb of Domitilla. There, two passageways connected the apse and the right aisle of the church to the cubiculum behind, which probably contained her grave in early times. However, in the basilica, the inscriptions on the fragments of the Damasian placque or on the columns and architrave which may have formed the shrine belonged to Nereus and Achilleus alone. Petronilla is not mentioned on them. Thus the situation at S. Simplicius's, Faustinus's, and Viatrix's church may be, so far as the evidence uncovered here is concerned, unique, if, as is indeed possible, the forms involved were combined into a canopy shrine. The closest parallel may be in the chapel of the popes at the catacomb of S. Callixtus where one free-standing altar must have served to celebrate the Natale of all the popes buried in the same chamber.[1] There, however, there was a chancel screen connecting two large columns which divided the space of the room, but there were no remains of a canopy over the altar.

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[1] See section b below for S. Agnese and I, #2 on St. Laurence's tomb.

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[1] See discussion in Krautheimer, "Mensa-Coemeterium-Martyrium," p. 26f. The text from the Vita S. Melaniae Junioris cited there indicates that an altar was present at the tomb of St. Laurence in the late 4th century. Whether one existed in the large basilica is less certain. Yet, according to the Liber Pontificalis under the life of Silvester, an altar was placed in the large funerary basilica of SS. Marcellinus and Petrus, as well as at the tomb of Helena next to it (Duchesne, L.P., I, pp. 182-83).

[2] De Rossi, Roma Sotteranea, p. 655.

d. Fragments from other Catacombs

Solitary fragments, such as a column base or a section of an architrave, have been found in or near catacombs. Some of these suggest by their shape and size that they might once have belonged to canopy structures similar to the ones mentioned above. These fragments will be described below, along with the sites they once might have decorated.

(1) Memoria of SS. Felix and Philip at S. Priscilla. In 1888 a fragmentary column base of marble which was inscribed on three sides (fig. 27) came to light. E. Le Blant[2] described and illustrated the piece in the

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[1] DACL, art. "Calliste," Tom. II, pt. 2, col. 1720f.

[2] Pp. 292-96.

Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire of the same year. No one has recorded where the fragment was found, but de Rossi in 1890[1] suggested that, because the marble was coated with plaster, it had probably served in the construction of a wall. He cites a wall on the Villa Savoia near the Catacomb of Priscilla in which many other fragments of Christian tombs were discovered when it was abandoned about the same time that the column base was discovered.

That the column base might have been discovered near the Catacomb of Priscilla is more than just possible. The inscriptions on the three sides of the base indicate that it may have been used in a chapel or church within the catacomb itself. The inscriptions, which are fragmentary on two sides, read:

one side: VLIAS
SANCT
on the following side: MARTYRVM
FILICIS FILIPPI

and, on the following side opposite the first side: VITA
MAR.

It is known from several sources that the martyrs Felix and Philip were buried in the Catacomb of Priscilla and that these martyrs were two of the seven sons of S. Felicitas.[1] The five remaining sons and S. Felicitas herself were buried in other catacombs at Rome. Le Blant cites the Calendar of 354, which, along with other martyrologies,[2] points to the Catacomb of Priscilla as the burial place of both Felix and Philip and July 10 as the celebration of the *Natale* of all the brothers: *Mense Julii VI idus. Felicis et Philippi Priscillae, et in Jordanorum, Martialis, Vitalis, Alexandri, et in Maximi, Silani* . . . . *et in Praetextati, Januarii*. From the above text Le Blant attempts to reconstruct the missing parts of the inscriptions on the two sides of the column base:

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[1] Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana, 1890, p. 113, n. 4. See also O. Marucchi, Nuovo Bullettino della Archeologia Cristiana, 1908, p. 54.

Sexto idus IVLIVS	*MARTYRVM*	*VITALis*
Natale SANCT(orum)	*FILICIS FILIPPI*	*MARtialis*[3]

Marucchi would reconstruct the inscription this way:

VI idus IVLIVS	*MARTYRVM*	*VITALis Alexandri*
nat. SANCT	*FILICIS FILIPPI*	*MARtialis*[4]
orum		

He would add Alexander's name to the third side because these three brothers were all buried in the Catacomb of Giordano, and their names are grouped together in this way on the Papyrus of Monza.[1] All the names listed on the papyrus from the Via Salaria Nuova refer to memoriae at the Catacomb of Priscilla. Le Blant suggests that the names of the rest of the seven brothers, Alexander, Silanus, and Januarius, may have been inscribed on the fourth side of the column base which has been broken off.[2] Most scholars feel that the style of the lettering belongs to the late 4th or the 5th century.[3]

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[1] Le Blant, *op. cit*., pp. 292-93; Marucchi, *Nuovo Bull*., 1908, p. 40f for a discussion of the martyrdom of the brothers.

[2] Le Blant, *op. cit*., p. 296.

[3] *Ibid*., p. 294. [4] Marucchi, *Nuovo Bull*., 1908, pp.56-7.

Both Le Blant[4] and Marucchi[5] liken this base in size and form to the small column bases found at St. Alexander's on the Via Nomentana, which was discussed above. Both scholars conclude, therefore, that this base probably also belonged to a small canopy sheltering the altar which rose above the tombs of Felix and Philip in a church or chapel at the Catacomb of Priscilla. Marucchi further suggests that the missing names from the list of the seven brothers, plus the name of the donor who gave the monument, may have appeared on at least one, if not all three, of the other column bases which would have belonged to such a canopy.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 94-95.

[2] Le Blant, op. cit., p. 295.

[3] Ibid., p. 294; Marucchi, Nuovo Bull., 1908, p. 58; Styger, Römische Martyrergrüfte, I, p. 248.

[4] Le Blant, op. cit., p. 295.

[5] Marucchi, Nuovo Bull., 1908, pp. 57-58.

In the 7th century the Notitia mentions an altar over the tombs of Felix and Philip at the church of St. Silvester in the Catacomb of Priscilla:

> postea ascendens . . . ad sci silvestri eccl. ibi multitudo sanctorum pausat primum silvester scs papa et confessor et ad pedes eius scs papa et ad pedes eius scs Syricus pap. et in dextera parte celestinus papa et marcellus epsc.> philippus et felix mart. et multitudo sanctorum sub altare maiore et in spelunca crescencius mart.[1]

The early history of this site is confused. Many walls and chapels have been discovered around the place where the tombs of all the martyrs and popes mentioned in the Notitia and elsewhere[2] seem to have been buried. (See fig. 28). De Rossi would date the apse around the so-called site of the tomb of Felix and Philip (apse b and tomb M in fig. 28) about the middle of the 4th century.[3]

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[1] De Rossi, Roma Sotteranea, I, p. 138.

[2] See, for example, Epitome, Ibid., p. 142.

[3] De Rossi, Bullettino, 1890, p. 114f; Marucchi, Nuovo Bull., 1908, p. 31.

An epigram of Pope Damasus, composed to honor the martyrs Felix and Philip, is also known from later manuscripts containing Damasian epigrams, along with that to Pope Marcellus and others, also buried at this site.[1] Thus it would seem that the tomb of Felix and Philip was decorated under the pontificate of Damasus, and it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that the column base which lists their names first in the order of the brothers may once have belonged to a decoration around their tomb. The lettering on the base indicates that it was probably not contemporary with the placque but perhaps slightly later, as the decoration of the tombs of Nereus and Achilleus would seem to be. However, even the site of the tomb of Felix and Philip in the 4th century is uncertain.

It has been generally accepted although it is far from certain that the large tomb M at the center of the chord of apse b (fig. 28) belonged to the two martyrs,[2] who, according to the Notitia, occupied the space beneath the "main altar" of the catacomb church. Felix and Philip, who were martyred in 162 A.D., might have been buried in the catacomb below this site before the church was built in the 4th century,[1] and their tombs could have been moved to the spot below the "main" altar of the church when it was built. Marucchi records that tomb M in the church, now empty, was once faced with marble and that fragments of marble chancel railing were recovered near-by.[2] The whole complex could have resembled something similar to the arrangement at S. Alessandro not too far away. The square niche at the back of the apse (fig. 28K) is also reminiscent of other niches found behind venerated tombs, probably for clergy seats, at SS. Nereus and Achilleus, SS. Simplicius, Faustinus, and Viatrix, and at S. Ermete, as we shall see below.

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[1] See Ibid., p. 48. These are known from the Sillog. of Tours and Verdun.

[2] Ibid., p. 39 and Catacombe Romane, p. 508f; De Rossi, Bullettino, 1890, p. 109f.

The column base itself resembles in size[3] the ones found at S. Alessandro. The inscription, however, occurs on three sides instead of one. The base, then, must have been visible from at least three sides. It must certainly have had at least one accompanying piece which probably also contained an inscription, But, since the fourth side of the column base is broken, one cannot say for sure if it supported a free-standing column. The base could have been engaged on its fourth side to a wall, possibly in front of an arcosolium, as illustrated by de Rossi in the *Bullettino* of 1890 or by Bosio in a cubiculum at the Catacomb of S. Callixtus.[1]

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[1] See Marucchi, Nuovo Bull., 1908, pp. 58-60.

[2] Ibid., p. 53.

[3] Le Blant, op. cit., p. 295, n. 1. I do not have the measurements of these bases and, unfortunately, have not seen the one inscribed to Felix and Philip.

However, de Rossi also records that the tomb below M stood at a lower level than the basilica. This and the *Notitia*'s documentation that S. Felix and S. Philip and a multitude of saints were *sub altare majore* makes one wonder if the "saints" included many others, along with Felix and Philip, who were buried in the catacomb beneath the basilica.[2] The only certain elements are an inscribed column base and an epigram of Damasus. The two may have come from this site at the Catacomb of

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[1] De Rossi, Tav. I-II. This example is from Palestine. A. Bosio. *Roma Sotteranea Novissima*, Roma, 1651, Vol. I, p. 559, the "fourth cubiculum" in the cemetery of S. Callixtus.

[2] The *Epitome* (De Rossi, *Roma Sotteranea*, I, p. 142) simply records the graves of *scs filicis. unus de VII (scs phillipus unus de VII) scs semetrius et in una sepultura CCCLXV*. This makes one wonder if a mass grave existed somewhere nearby in the catacomb.

Priscilla and may have formed a part of the decoration at the tomb of the two martyrs. The possible reference to the Natale of the brothers in the inscription on the base indicates that it formed part of a monument used to celebrate that feast, perhaps rising over an altar where the Eucharist was performed each year for the occasion.

(2) S. Agnese f.l.m.--One fragment of an architrave (fig. 23a), which is now on display at the Capitoline Museum[1] but was formerly in the Museo Albani in Rome,[2] has suggested to some scholars[3] that a canopy may have stood over the grave of St. Agnes at S. Agnese f.l.m. in the late 4th century. The architrave bears the inscription:

TYRE AGNETI POTITVS SERBVS DEI ORNAVIT

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[1] Sala Monumenti Cristiani I, #76. A cast of it is imbedded in wall I, #6 of the Lateran Museum courtyard and is illustrated in de Rossi, Bullettino, 1877, Tav. III-IV. Another illustration of it, erroneously labeled, appears in DACL, art. "Agnès," I, 1, col. 963-64, fig. 241.

[2] This is recorded in A. Mai, Scriptorum Veterum, Roma, 1831, T. V, p. 116, #1; L. Muratori, Novus Thesaurus Veterum Inscriptionum, Mediolani, 1742, T. IV, p. 1926, #6.

[3] Wieland, Altar u. Altargrab, p. 195; Marucchi, Catacombe Romane, p. 396.

The piece is broken off at the left leaving the inscription incomplete. Although Muratori originally interpreted the letters *TYRE* to stand for *thyras*,[1] or the entry to the building, de Rossi completed the inscription in a more convincing manner, suggesting the following reconstruction:

(mar)tyr(a)e Agneti Potitus serbus(servus) Dei ornavit[2]

The text seems to point to a donor, Potitus, who ornamented some monument in honor of the martyr Agnes. The letters are incised in simple lines colored red and are judged by de Rossi to belong to the 4th century,[3] by Marucchi to belong to the late 4th century.[4]

Although the origin of the architrave before it came to the Museo Albani is unknown, its presence in Rome suggests that possibly it might have belonged to a monument forming a decoration over the grave of St. Agnes in the church of S. Agnese f.l.m. Such a decoration might have been either destroyed or dismantled and then replaced by a more elaborate structure, like that given by Honorius in the early 7th century, who erected a ciborium of gilt bronze over the tomb of the Saint and enlarged the whole church.[1]

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[1] Muratori, *op. cit*., IV, p. 1926, #6.

[2] De Rossi, *Bullettino*, 1877, p. 10.

[3] *Ibid*.

[4] Marucchi, *Catacombe Romane*, p. 396.

The shape and form of the architrave do suggest that it had been used in a situation above eye-level. The section of the piece containing the lettering is beveled so that the eye could have viewed it easily from below (see fig. 23a). The architrave is also finished underneath with two incised lines, indicating that the bottom edge was left free and was meant to be seen from below. Thus, it probably did not top a solid wall but spanned an area between supports, leaving the bottom edge visible. It is noteworthy that the architrave inscribed with the letters LEUS discovered at the basilica of SS. Nereus and Achilleus is also beveled. This probably belonged to a canopy shrine there and has also been ascribed to the late fourth century. Therefore, it does seem possible that the architrave could have belonged to a canopy shrine and might have once stood over or near the tomb of St. Agnes at S. Agnese f.l.m.

Remnants of the original tomb chapel at the grave of St. Agnes have been discovered in excavations. The site of the church originally comprised catacomb galleries. However, in the fourth century, perhaps under the patronage of Constantine's daughter, Constantina,[1] the higher level of galleries in the catacomb seem to have been expanded and leveled to form a long and narrow chamber, probably without aisles, which stood about six meters below street level.[2] Some of the original galleries, along with the large stairway which still exists to the South of the narthex, gave access to the chapel. An apse was hollowed out of the tufa at the East end of the chamber. It was about 1.10 meters below the pavement of the present apse of the church and was of slightly smaller dimensions. It seems to have fitted just inside the present apse.

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[1] Duchesne, L.P., I, p. 323.

The whole church had as its focal point the mass of tufa into which were cut *loculi*, one of which probably was the grave of St. Agnes. This *loculus* has not been identified,[1] but is thought to be within the tufa mass because of the continuous veneration afforded to the spot. It seems to have been located in a gallery of level C of the catacomb which ran beneath the apse and contained three stories of *loculi*. This area is shown in the section drawing in our fig. 29: tufa mass D beside gallery Cl. This section drawing, according to Krautheimer, should be used with caution, for the scales of the excavated areas below and the church above are different. The original apse also is not indicated in the drawing.[2] The galleries on the levels above this (B in fig. 29) were cut back to form the church, but the mass of tufa, which probably contained the grave of the Saint (D in fig. 29) was kept intact, rising perhaps about 80-90 centimeters above the floor level of the original church. The apse behind the grave was cut out of the same tufa mass and contained many *formae*.[3]

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[1] There is discussion as to which member of the royal family is involved here. Constantina, the sister of Constantine, died in 328, and Constantina, the granddaughter of Constantine, was born in 362. Besides being mentioned in the *L.P.*, in connection with the church of S. Agnese, the dates of Constantina, the daughter of Constantine, seem to correspond better to the constructions at S. Agnese f.l.m. See Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum Christianorum Romae*, Vatican City, 1937, I, p. 34.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 31-35. Krautheimer reports that there hardly seems to be room for aisles on either side. See red markings on Pl. V.

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[1] Marucchi, *Catacombe Romane*, p. 389; Wieland, *Altar u. Altargrab*, p. 113 judges it more precisely to be located in the tufa wall of gallery bl (fig. 29).

[2] Krautheimer, *Corpus*, I, p. 33, fig. 22.

[3] Wieland, *Altar u. Altargrab*., p. 113.

If the architrave in question was part of a decoration in the church, it probably stood somewhere above the tufa mass containing the grave of the Saint. Other decorations have been discovered which might also have embellished the tufa mass and therefore might also have been used as parts of decoration associated with the architrave. Although their original locations and disposition are uncertain, it may be useful to examine these pieces. Fragments which may have formed part of the early decoration around the tomb of St. Agnes were recovered in 1886 within a lateral stairway built in 1620.[1] Three panels of marble facing[2] are displayed now on the walls of the large staircase to the South of the narthex. Two are smaller (61 cm. high and 83 cm. long) and are carved in relief to simulate chancel railings. The third piece is larger (93 cm. high and 1.35 meters wide) and contains in the center a figure of a female orant in relief. Mock chancel railings are carved on either side of her and, on the right, is carved a flat pilaster, thick in proportion to the plaque itself. Another one like it probably once completed the relief on the left (fig. 30). The figure may represent St. Agnes herself; a graffito beside the head of the figure reads *SS ANNEAS*.[1] All these carvings are generally ascribed to the fourth century.[2] Wieland[3] suggests that these panels might correspond to the three free-standing sides of the tufa block containing the tomb of Agnes which faced into the church. It may also be to these panels that the *Liber Pontificalis* refers under the life of Pope Liberius (352-66): *Hic ornavit de platomis marmoreis sepulcrum S. Agnae martyris*.[4] Both Armellini[5] and Marucchi[6] think that the marble panels, described above, formed part of the altar of the church, perhaps in the manner of the altar over the double tomb at S. Alessandro on the Via Nomentana. However, if the text of Liberius in the Liber Pontificalis does refer to these marble panels, then they would seem to have decorated specifically the "sepulchre" of the martyr, who may, as the graffito suggests, be represented on it in prayer. One cannot tell exactly how high the tufa mass containing the grave of S. Agnese rose above the floor of the church. Therefore, it is not clear whether originally an altar might have risen directly over the tomb or may have stood in another position, perhaps in front of the tomb.[1] Perhaps the feast of the martyr may have been celebrated each year on an altar in the large basilica near-by that is located above ground and connects to the church ad corpus through the large staircase to the south of the narthex.[2]

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[1] De Rossi, Bullettino, 1885, p. 128 and 1886, p. 7. The piece had already been noted by A. Bosio, Roma Sotteranea, Roma, 1632, p. 249, who according to de Rossi thought it was a sarcophagus front.

[2] I am grateful to Dr. C. Willard Smith for checking the position of the smaller panels on the opposite side of the great staircase from the large panel at S. Agnese f.l.m. Wieland mentions the three placques and records their measurements in his analysis, Altar u, Altargrab, p. 115.

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[1] *Ibid.*; De Rossi, *Bullettino*, 1885, p. 128; Cabrol & Laclercq, *DACL*, art. "Agnès," I, 1, col. 946.

[2] Wieland, *Altar u. Altargrab*, p. 115; De Rossi, *Bull.*, 1885, p. 128.

[3] Wieland, *Altar u. Altargrab*, pp. 114-116. Abb. 18, p. 116 illustrates the reconstruction.

[4] Duchesne, *L.P.*, I, p. 208.

[5] *Roemische Quartalschrift*, 1889, p. 62f.

[6] *Catacombe Romane*, p. 396.

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[1] As an altar was placed in front of the tomb of Helena in Constantinian times (see Part I, p.21f) and possibly in front of the grave of St. Hippolytus according to Prudentius in the early 5th c. Peristephanon XI in Migne, P.L., 60, col. 548-549:

Talibus Hippolyti corpus mandatur opertis,
    Propter ubi apposita est ara dicata Deo.
Illa sacramenti donatrix mensa, eademque
    Custos fida sui martyris apposita,

[2] For plans of both the complexes at S. Agnese f.l.m. and at S. Lorenzo f.l.m., see Krautheimer, "Mensa-Coemeterium-Martyrium," figs. 3, 4, and 6.

But an altar may have been present in the church ad corpus too, at least by the end of the 4th century. Altars may have been placed in both the crypt and the basilica at S. Lorenzo f.l.m. according to the Vita of S. Melania, which indicates that one stood by the tomb, and in both the cavern containing the grave of S. Hippolytus and the large basilica where his Natale was celebrated according to Prudentius.[1]

By the pontificate of Damasus (366-84), still another element enters the complex at the grave of S. Agnese, a marble panel containing an epigram which honors the Saint (fig. 31). This placque was discovered almost intact in the pavement of the basilica of S. Agnese f.l.m. in 1728.[2] Where was this placed if Liberius had ornamented the tomb with marble? Damasus's placque measures .98 by 3.07 mg. and, therefore, could hardly have been placed above the marble panels mentioned above which were of smaller dimensions.

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[1] See discussion of Krautheimer cited in note 1, p. 124 above.

[2] The panel now hangs next to the large stairway to the south of the narthex. Leclercq notes its discovery by workmen remaking the pavement of the basilica, DACL, art. "Agnès," I, 1, col. 907 and 924-25.

If, then, in the late 4th century, we introduce the architrave, which is the object of this study, might it find a place within the whole? It does, indeed, seem possible that so venerated a tomb as S. Agnese's might by the late 4th century have been sheltered by a canopy including the architrave in question. It would most likely have stood above the platform by the tufa mass, which was probably, according to the life of Liberius, faced with marble, possibly including the panels discussed above. Columns supporting such a canopy might have rested either on the four corners of the mass itself or possibly on the four corners of an altar rising above the tufa mass. Could the pilaster-like forms on the relief placque cited above have served as large bases for smaller columns of a canopy above it? However, if this placque was part of the decoration of Pope Liberius, the shrine would almost have to be concurrent with the marble reliefs. The proximity of the shape of the architrave with that found at SS. Nereus and Achilleus does suggest that the piece could have originally formed part of a canopy honoring the tomb of St. Agnes.

One other possibility remains. The architrave could have belonged to a shrine in the large funerary basilica nearby. However, as yet, so little is known of the interior of that building that nothing other than the suggestion can be presented here.

(3) S. Ermete at the Catacomb of Basilla.--Pope Damasus may have been the founder of another catacomb basilica, that of S. Ermete at the Catacomb of Basilla, in which a canopy shrine might possibly have existed. This is indicated by one fragment of an architrave inscribed with Damasian epigraphy on both front and back and two fragments of a Damasian placque all of which were found near the site of the basilica.[1]

The basilica itself,which, according to Krautheimer's findings, seems originally to belong to the 4th century,[2] was a more or less rectangular room constructed by destroying and expanding the catacomb galleries in the area on the second level of the Catacomb of Basilla below the ground.[1] A stairway, which may originally have led to the catacomb galleries, gave access to the church, whose upper part rose above ground level.

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[1] Bosio, *Roma Sott.*, 1632, p. 560 reports that this architrave fragment was found in a doorway (*nella foglia della porta*) of the house of the Jesuit fathers next to and above the church of S. Ermete. The fragments of the Damasian placque were also found above the basilica (Krautheimer, *Corpus*, I, p. 197).

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 208. The type of masonry used in the basilica seems to correspond to this dating. *Formae* of the years 402 and 408 were also found in the basilica.

The apse of the basilica is of particular interest since its shape is reminiscent of those in the catacomb basilicas of SS. Nereus and Achilleus, of SS. Simplicius, Faustinus, and Viatrix, and, possibly, of S. Silvestro at the Catacomb of Priscilla. In the first two churches a simple niche opened up at the rear of the apse to accommodate the bishop's or priest's chair. In the last, a square niche may have stood at the back of the apse. At S. Ermete there is an added element: a space divided into two parts opens at the back of the apse. The first opening is rectangular in shape, whereas the second beyond it is semi-circular. (See fig. 35b) The latter may have held the clergy seat, but one wonders why the first space was created. Marucchi[2] feels that this must have been the place where S. Ermete's tomb was located.

There is no testimony before the 7th century which indicates that S. Ermete was actually buried in the basilica.

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[1] _Ibid_., p. 198 and 206-207, Pl. XXIX.

[2] _Guide des Catacombes Romaines_, Paris, 1903, p. 524.

This testimony, in the *Epitome de locis martyrum*, contains the entry: . . . *apparet basilica Sci Ermes ubi ipse martyr jacet* . . . .[1] Since from the 6th century on,[2] this spot was called S. Ermete, it seems logical to suppose that the church was perhaps always dedicated to that Saint and was probably constructed on the site of his tomb.[3] Unless the site of the church marked a particularly venerated spot, why would the founders of the basilica clear an area on a lower level of the catacomb? If S. Ermete's tomb were located in the basilica, it would probably have been situated either in the apse or in the small rectangular niche just behind it. There are no remains of a tomb visible in this area. The body of S. Ermete was transferred to S. Marco under Gregory IV (827-44).[4] The fragments of the placque containing the Damasian epigram and the architrave mentioned earlier[1] probably decorated the tomb of the martyr and may have been used somewhere in this area.

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[1] Krautheimer, *Corpus*, I, p. 197.

[2] Other records indicate that S. Ermete was buried in the Catacomb of S. Basilla. See *Ibid*. Calendar of 354: *V Kal. Sept. Hermetis in Basillae Salaria Vetere; Notitia*: *Cymeterium Bassilae ad S. Hermetem Via Salaria Vetere* and *Itinera Salisburgensis*: *Deinde vadis . . . via Salaria (sic) donec venies ad scm Ermetem ibi primum pausat Bassilissa* . . . *et scm Ermes martyr longe sub terra* . . . .

[3] *Ibid*., pp. 197-98.

[4] Marucchi, *Guide* . . ., 1903, p. 525.

The piece of architrave can be linked with certainty to a decoration comemorating S. Ermete, because it contains the letters HERME on one side in clear Damasian script (fig. 32). The architrave is of red marble, is large in size, and must have been placed in a position where it was visible from both front and back. For the other side of the fragment is also inscribed in the same style of lettering with the letters INHERENS. Damasus must have decorated the tomb of S. Ermete, then, with more than a placque. The architrave could have crowned a canopy shrine above the placque and over the tomb. However, no other fragments remain to suggest what the decoration might have been. The architrave is larger and appears heavier than those other fragments cited which might have belonged to canopy shrines. Yet, it must have rested on some kind of support near the tomb of the martyr.

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[1] See E. Josi, "Scoperta di due frammenti del Carme Damasiano in onore di S. Ermete," in Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana, IX, 1932, pp. 147-150. Josi identified the two small fragments of the placque with Damasus's epigram, known through manuscripts and also mentions the fragments of the architrave.

This catacomb church must have served to provide more space for the celebration on the feast-day of the martyr, as in the basilicas of SS. Nereus and Achilleus and SS. Simplicius, Faustinus, and Viatrix, discussed above. The niche at the back of the apse suggests the presence of a priest's chair and, thus, a liturgical celebration on an altar placed nearby, which might also have stood above the tomb of S. Ermete if it were located in the apse area. The simple rectangular shape of the church, without aisles or columns, is reminiscent of the chapels at S. Alessandro, and S. Agnese f.l.m., and the shape of the apse, as mentioned above, is similar to those in the churches of SS. Nereus and Achilleus, SS. Simplicius, Faustinus and Viatrix, and S. Silvestro at the Catacomb of Priscilla. Thus a certain affinity to other catacomb churches of the second half of the 4th century, which may also have contained canopy shrines, is suggested.

(4) Catacomb of Zoticus on the Via Labicana. Around 1876, E. Stevenson discovered in the old and delapidated Catacomb of Zoticus, 10 miles from Rome on the Via Labicana, a cripta containing at its center an empty

tomb.[1] At four corners around the cavity were traces of the bases that Stevenson feels once belonged to a canopy which rose above a free-standing altar on the spot.

Despite its ruin the cemetery has been identified with the burial place of the martyrs Zoticus (from which it takes its name), Irenaeus, Hyacinth, and Amantius, all of whom may have lived in the time of Diocletian.[2] A basilica may have once existed here in honor of these martyrs.[3] At any rate, Leo III, according to the Liber Pontificalis,[4] restored the cemetery, so it was apparently still in use at that time. Paschal I (817-24), however, transferred the martyrs' remains to S. Prassede.[5]

If the traces of a canopy were still apparent in a chamber of the catacomb in the 19th century, they no longer exist today according to Enrico Josi,[1] who most recently restored the catacomb. But, it still remains that Stevenson recorded the vestiges of column bases around a tomb. There were no inscriptions to identify the monument, so it cannot be linked to any particular martyr's grave. Nor can a date of any kind be assigned to it, since it could have belonged to the restorations of Leo III.

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[1] E. Stevenson, Il Cimitero di Zotico, Modena, 1876, p. 30.

[2] Marucchi, Guide . . ., 1903, pp. 640-641.

[3] M. Armellini, Le Chiese di Roma dal Secolo IV al XIX, Roma, 1942, Vol. II, p. 1097.

[4] Duchesne, L.P., II, pp. 2 and 34, n. 11 where the author acknowledges that the words written as cimiterium s. Iutici on the Via Labicana refer to the cemetery of Zoticus.

[5] Ibid., pp. 63-64, n. 12 for the long inscription at S. Prassede which lists the martyr's remains which Paschal put there.

On the other hand, the catacomb itself contains inscriptions from the early 5th century.[2] If it was in use at that time, it is possible in the light of the evidence uncovered there, that a canopy shrine could have existed there, rising above the tomb of one of the celebrated martyrs buried there. This possibility without further evidence can only remain highly conjectural.

2. Fountain Canopies

About the end of the 4th century, evidence of a canopy structure serving a new purpose emerges in

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[1] Prof. Josi pronounced this opinion verbally.

[2] Marucchi, Guide . . ., p. 641 and De Rossi, Inscript. Crist., I, #530 and #639.

Christian Rome. This is a bronze canopy sheltering the cantharus in the atrium of Old St. Peter's. In the 5th century the Liber Pontificalis gives evidence to suggest that there was at the Oratory of the Holy Cross next to the Lateran Baptistery a second fountain sheltered by what would seem to have been, again, a canopy.

a. Cantharus in the Atrium of St. Peter's.

Paulinus of Nola in the year 397 A.D. wrote a letter to the Senator Pammachius in which he described a fountain in the atrium of St. Peter's basilica at Rome.[1] This is the first source to indicate the existence of the cantharus and the courtyard surrounding it (see fig. 34), The exact date of the foundation of both the fountain and the atrium are unknown, but the letter indicates that they were certainly in use by 397 A.D.

Paulinus's letter not only mentions the cantharus in the atrium but also describes a structure which was built over and around it:

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[1] Paulinus of Nola, Ep. XIII, c. 13 in Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, Vicunas and Prague, 1894, Vol. 29, pp. 94-95.

> . . . atrium, fusa vestibulo est, ubi cantharum ministra manibus et oribus nostris fluenta ructantem fastigatus solido aere tholus ornat et inumbrat non sine mystica specie quattuor columnis salientes aquas ambiens, ...

The text after this describes the mystical significance of these forms. The structure, then, comprised a roof of solid bronze supported by four columns. The word tholus applies to a roof, dome, or vault, especially over a temple.[1] A tholus fastigatus also implies a decoration containing some kind of pediment.

The exact form of the roof of this canopy can probably be seen on 16th century drawings of the structure.[2] The drawing of Cronaca of c. 1500 and of Francisco de Hollanda, who was in Italy from c. 1538-45, show what appears to be a groin vault finished on its four sides with round arches or gables (fig. 33). These gables were screened with a pattern of rising semi-circles, the same pattern that has appeared on chancel railings of the late 4th or early 5th centuries.[3] At the four corners of the vault appear acanthus leaf decorations and dolphins, which according to later sources,[1] may have acted as roof drains. These details, the decorations above the arches themselves on Cronaca's drawing, and the two peacocks which stand within one of the four gables, may represent later additions to what was probably the original roof vault, of which Paulinus spoke.[2] The drawings, in fact, record several additions and changes in the structure which occurred during the 1000 years or so since it had been built.

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[1] Du Cange, Glossarium, T. VIII, p. 101.

[2] A list of the drawings and descriptions of the fountain appear in C. Huelsen, "Der Cantharus von Alt-St.-Peter und die antiken Pignen-Brunnen," in Roemische Mitteilungen, Band XIX, 1904, pp. 88-95.

[3] See examples of S. Alessandro, figs. 20 & 21 and the placque from S. Agnese, fig. 30.

The Liber Pontificalis informs us of some of the decorating and refurbishing of the cantharus over the years. During his pontificate, Symmachus (498-514) ornamented the structure with works in marble and with mosaics of lambs, crosses, and palms.[3] Under Stephen II (752-57) the lower part of the fountain must have been redone. He gave eight marble columns, which he placed in a square around the fountain, and set the bronze roof above them.[1] Thus, it was at this point that the eight columns visible on the 16th century drawings replaced the original four columns which supported the structure. Huelsen[2] observes that it must have been after this that the relief slabs containing griffins, which surrounded the lower area of the fountain, were added to the structure, because they fit between eight rather than four columns.

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[1] See Huelsen, op. cit., p. 101.

[2] De Rossi's conclusion that the bronze roof must belong to the time of Symmachus because of the form of the cross-monogram on the disc of the roof does not seem conclusive. That monogram could have been added or replaced at a later time. See Huelsen, p. 115.

[3] Duchesne, L.P., I, p. 262: Ad cantharum beati Petri cum quadriporticum ex opere marmoribus ornavit et ex musivo agnos et cruces et palmas ornavit. Could the mosaica have been placed on the architrave above the columns? The drawings vary on the representation of this area (see fig. 33). See Huelsen, op. cit., pp. 99-100.

During his reign, Leo III (795-816) restored and renewed the entire bronze roof of the fountain:

> . . . et fontes aquae ante fores argenteas, verum etiam et turrem cum cameris suis, a summo usque ad summum omnia et in omnibus noviter restauravit.[3]

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[1] Duchesne, L.P., I, p. 445:

> Interea renovavit in atrium ante fores beati Petri apostoli, qui quadriporticos dicitur, columnas marmoreas VIII, mirae pulchritudinis, sculptas, quae desuper quadris composuit et aereum desuper conlocavit tegumen.

[2] Huelsen, op. cit., pp. 93-94 and 115-116.

[3] Duchesne, L.P., II, p. 1. The passage has not always been applied to the fountain in the atrium, but sometimes to the Baptistery. However, since the fountain in question is placed "before the silver doors," it probably refers to the cantharus in the atrium.

Another element from the lower part of the fountain which appears on the 16th century drawings but which seems not to have been a part of the original composition is the large bronze pine cone placed beneath the roof. There is no evidence of its existence in the fountain until the 12th century.[1] Paulinus's letter indicates that it probably was not part of the monument in the late 4th century.

Paulinus's text, quoted above, speaks of the cantharus "spewing forth" (ructantem) water and of the four columns which "surround the leaping waters" (ambiens salientes aquas). The word cantharus itself, which Paulinus and others used to describe this and other Christian fountains, had not generally been applied to fountain structures previously. Its more common definition was to signify a vase or vessel which held either wine or water.[2] Thus, Goldschmidt[3] translates the word in Paulinus's writings to signify the basin or vessel into which the water fell. It would seem then that the adoption of the word cantharus to describe this fountain may refer to a large basin into which the water, that somehow spewed forth from above, fell.

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[1] This is found in the text of Petrus Mallius. See Huelsen, op. cit., p. 105.

[2] Thesaurus Linguae Latinae, Vol. 3, pp. 280-281. The examples from Paulinus's writings and from the L.P. appear under the heading "Vase- for water."

[3] Goldschmidt, Paulinus' Churches at Nola, Amsterdam, 1940, pp. 114-115.

A marble placque, found by Paul V among the ruins of the old Vatican basilica, contained verses of Pope Damasus which indicate that Damasus made a "fountain" in order to prevent excess moisture in the lower regions of the Vatican hill from destroying the tombs and burials around St. Peter's grave:

> Cingebant latices montem, tenerque meatu
> Corpora multorum cineres atque ossa rigabant.
> ....
> Siccavit totum quidquid madefecerat humor:
> Invenit fontem praebet qui dona salutis.[1]

This "dampness" was thus somehow channeled from the hill and drained into a "fountain." Whether this "fountain" was in the atrium or was in the Baptistery is not specified.

The verses of Prudentius on St. Peter's basilica from the early 5th century also mention a spring of water at the basilica.[2] It is not clear whether he simply d describes the fountain in the baptistery or whether he might also refer to the cantharus outside the basilica, too. He writes:

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[1] See R. Lanciani, "I Commentarii di Frontino intornole acque egli aquedotti," in Memorie delle atti de Real.Accad. dei Lincei, 1880, pp. 238-39.

[2] Migne, P.L., LX, col. 561 and Loeb ed., op. cit. II, p. 324.

> Dextra Petrum regio tectis tenet aureis receptum,
>   Canens oliva, murmurans fluento.
> Mumque supercilio saxi liquor ortus excitavit
>   Frondem perennem chrismatis feracem.
> Nunc pretiosa ruit per marmora, lubricatque clivum,
>   Donec virenti fluctuet colymbo.

His text suggests the sound of moving water; it suggests that the water rose up, then ran over precious marbles and down a slope until it was tossed about in a green container below. The text emphasizes the sanctity of the water which was made fruitful in holy Baptism. It then goes on to point out that this stream ran to the inner part of the basilica where it fell into a pool with a loud sound. It would seem that the poet refers to a different "pool" here, as opposed to the basin (colymbo) which seems to have been outside:

> Interior tumuli pars est, ubi lapsibus sonoris
>   Stagnum nivali volvitur profundo.

The lines which follow these clearly identify this "inner" part of St. Peter's, with mosaics above of the Good Shepherd, as the baptistery at the extremity of the right transept. Several inscriptions point to Pope Damasus as the donor of this baptistery, and one mentions mosaics which decorate the structure.[1]

Prudentius's verse, then, might provide a possible description of the cantharus. The "rising" stream of water may be parallel to Paulinus's spewing cantharus. Prudentius's water running on "precious marbles" suggests a man-made monument and not a natural stream. And, finally, the water "tossing about in a green container" or "basin"[2] brings to mind Paulinus's description of the "leaping waters," which probably also fell into a basin below, judging from the meaning of the word _cantharus_. This is highly speculative, but these two descriptions might simply look at the cantharus from two different viewpoints. Prudentius's main interest is in the water itself, whereas Paulinus became involved in an architectural description of the monument and its mystical meaning. At any rate, Prudentius would seem to describe two different containers for water at St. Peter's: a "basin" (_colymbo_) outside the basilica and a pool (stagnum) within. In the former, the water is "tossed about," whereas in the latter it would seem to drop into a much deeper container and come to rest in a less agitated manner.

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[1] See Duchesne, _L.P._, I, p. cxxiii for an epigram of Pope Damasus. See also de Rossi, _Bullettino_, 1876, pp. 8-9. The text on p. 8 mentions Longinianus who was prefect of Rome in 403 A.D. It ends with the phrase: . . . _et musivo opere decoravunt_.

[2] The Loeb ed. translates the word _colymbo_ as "basin" (p. 325).

If Prudentius's text did refer to the cantharus, it might evoke the following suggestions. It first of all suggests that there was probably no pine cone but that the water descended into a basin. Secondly, the text might suggest that some connection existed between the water flowing into the baptistery and that flowing into the cantharus itself. One wonders if the cantharus might also have been a part of the system devised by Damasus for draining the Vatican hill and thus may have been installed under his reign when the baptistery was built. If this were the case, then perhaps conduits, which brought water to the baptistery, also may have run underground to the cantharus in the atrium[1] in the late 4th century. Then perhaps Damasus also might have ordered the construction of the cantharus in the atrium.

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[1] The atrium also might have been constructed simultaneously. H. Egger, "Quadriporticus S. Petri in Vaticani," in Papers of the British School at Rome, xviii, 1950, pp. 101-103 has suggested that the North and South arcades of the quadriporticus were perhaps never built.

Thus, it is possible that the cantharus, sheltered by a canopy, was constructed between 366-84 A.D. during the pontificate of Damasus when water was channeled into St. Peter's basilica. There is yet another reason which points to the latter part of the reign of Damasus as the period when the cantharus was built. This, however, involves a closer examination of the symbolism and mystical associations assigned to the fountain and its canopy by Paulinus in his letter. This will be presented in a later chapter.

b. Nympheum in the Atrium of the Oratory of the Holy Cross next to the Lateran Baptistery

The Liber Pontificalis tells us that Pope Hilarus (461-68) built the Oratory of the Holy Cross next to the Lateran Baptistery, where he placed a fragment of the True Cross.[1] It seems that this oratory, which was destroyed in the early 17th century, was the place where the neophytes, who had just been baptized, received their first communion early on Easter morning.[2]

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[1] Duchesne, L.P., I, p. 242. He also built next to it the Oratories of St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist.

[2] Ibid., p. 245, n. 3. See plan from G. Severano,

Hilarus also gave a *nympheum et triporticum ante oratorium*.[1] This courtyard, surrounded by arcades on three sides, seems to have linked the Lateran Baptistery to the new Oratory. Thus the procession to and from the Oratory would have passed through this courtyard on Easter morning.

The *nympheum* in the courtyard must have been elaborately decorated according to its description:

> nympheum et triporticum ante oratorium Sanctae Crucis, ubi sunt columnae mirae magnitudinis quae dicitur exatonpentaicas, et concas striatas duas cum columnas purphyreticas raiatas aqua fundentes; ex in medio lacum purphyreticum cum conca raiata in medio aquam fundentem, circumdatam a dextris vel sinistris in medio cancellis aereis et columnis cum fastigiis et epistuliis, undique ornatum ex musibo et columnis aquitanicis et tripolitis et purphyreticis.[2]

The decorations, then, included columns of porphyry and marble, probably from Aquitania and Tripoli, which carried

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Memorie Sacre delle Sette Chiese di Roma, Roma, 1630. See also Hertling & Kirschbaum, *Roman Catacombs and Their Martyrs*, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 1956, p. 140 on the ceremonies performed at these buildings.

[1] Duchesne, *L.P.*, I, p.242.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 242-43. The phrase *ubi sunt columnae . . . dicitur exatonpentaicas* may apply to the *triporticum* instead of the *nympheum*. See also discussion of Duchesne, *Ibid.*, p. 246, n. 5, which cites a reconstruction of the monument by Rohault de Fleury, *Le Latan au Moyen Age*, pl. XXXIII.

architraves and pediments, also mosaics and bronze chancel railings. It sounds as if these elements in combination would have formed a kind of canopy structure.

The fountain probably was comprised of a basin at whose center were two striated shells "with porphyry columns." It seems that the shells spouted water into the basin. The basin may have been enclosed by copper or bronze lattice-work railings, which probably were set between the columns that also surrounded the fountain.

Because the columns were made of three different kinds of marble and because the name of each of these materials is written in the plural, it sounds as if at least six, or more, of them may have stood around the fountain. They must have supported the architraves and pediments that are described with them. In fact, the word fastigiis used here is somewhat reminiscent of Paulinus's description of the canopy above St. Peter's cantharus, which was sheltered by a tholus fastigatus. One wonders if the fastigiis above this fountain were of a similar form (see fig. 33). The canopy of the cantharus at St. Peter's also carried architraves above the columns, which may have been ornamented at a later time. They may possibly have been decorated by Symmachus with mosaics of lambs, crosses, and palms after the nympheum at the Oratory of the Holy Cross was built. It is possible that the mosaics on the nympheum, which appeared on all sides of it (undique), also decorated the architraves, although they might also have embellished the pediments, or possibly a vault over the fountain, too, if there was one.

There is no indication that a roof covered the nympheum. Possibly a screen of columns with architraves and gables simply surrounded it. But the effect might have evoked an image similar to another monument that has been studied above: the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. This structure displayed six columns, was surrounded by high lattice-work chancels, and seems to have been crowned above by rounded gables rising between each of the columns (see figs. 8-11).

Since the Oratory was used early on Easter morning each year to administer the sacrament of Confirmation near a relic of the True Cross on those who had just begun a new life through the sacrament of Baptism, a similarity of form between this canopy and that sheltering the Holy Sepulchre seems possible. Paulinus's text, which refers to the waters of the cantharus at St. Peter's as the waters of Christ, in which we live and are born again into eternal life,[1] brings up the mystical associations of such fountains with the so-called "fountain of life," a subject that will be studied in a later chapter, as mentioned before.

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[1] See Part III, p. 293 for the full text of this passage.

Chapter Three

SYMMACHUS TO GREGORY THE GREAT

(ca. 500-600 A.D.)

1. Altar Canopies

During the first quarter of the 6th century in Rome, there are three examples of canopies that sheltered an altar alone. Two of these represent the first known appearance of canopy structures within city churches.

a. S. Andrea next to St. Peter's

According to the Liber Pontificalis, Symmachus (498-514) made (fecit) the church (basilicam) of St. Andrew the apostle, next to St. Peter's, where he placed a canopy (tiburium) of pure silver and a confessio, weighing 120 lbs., and three silver arches weighing 60 lbs.[1]

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[1] Duchesne, L.P., I, p. 261:

> Hic fecit basilicam sancti Andreae apostoli apud beatum Petrum, ubi fecit tiburium ex argento purissimo et confessionem, pens. lib. CXX; arcos argenteos III, pens. lib. LX.

This church was one of the two round buildings, probably built originally as mausolea,[1] which stood next to the South transept and aisle of St. Peter's basilica. Remains of the imperial family of Honorius were discovered at a later time in the rotunda adjoining the South transept (later S. Petronilla).[2] But the second rotunda to the East of S. Petronilla must have been already standing when Constantine constructed St. Peter's basilica, because brick stamps dating back to the time of Septimius Severus and Caracalla were found in the walls of the structure when it was torn down.[3] This rotunda, which was perhaps also an imperial tomb originally,[4] has been identified with the church of S. Andrea founded by Symmachus (see fig. 34), who must have simply dedicated the already existing structure.

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[1] See L. Duchesne, "Vaticana, XI," in *Mélanges d'Archéologie et D'Histoire*, XXII, 1902, pp. 388-389; Duchesne, *L.P.*, I, p. 265, n. 16; and most recently, F. Castagnoli, "Il Circo di Nerone in Vaticano" in *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, 32; 1959-60, pp. 97-121.

[2] See Duchesne, "Vaticana, XI," p. 389 and R. Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, Boston and N. Y., 1893, pp. 200-205.

[3] Castagnoli, "Il Circo di Nerone in Vaticano," p. 104.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 120.

The identification of this rotunda as S. Andrea is verified by the 7th century itinerary of Rome, the Notitia Salisburgensis, which describes the arrangement of the seven altars that probably stood within the seven niches of the rotunda:

> Intrante in porticum scae andreae occurrit tibi in sinistra manu altare sci laurenti, deinde sci viti. deinde sci cassiani, deinde ipsius andreae in medio rotundae, et sic sci thomae. et sic sci appollinaris, novissime sci syxti.[1]

Symmachus also gave to S. Andrea three oratories and one confession,[2] which correspond to four of the altars listed in the Notitia.

The text of the Notitia indicates that the altar dedicated to St. Andrew was placed in the central niche, directly opposite the entrance to the rotunda. Thus, the canopy, with which Symmachus decorated the basilica, probably stood within this niche, which, like the six others in the rotunda, measured about 4 meters square.[3]

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[1] De Rossi, Roma Sotteranea, I, p. 140.

[2] Symmachus's dedications were to St. Thomas the apostle, S. Cassianus, whose confession was also dedicated to SS. Protus and Yacintus, S. Apollinaris, and S. Sossus (Duchesne, L.P., I, p. 261). The last name probably corresponds to sci syxti in the Notitia. Perhaps Symmachus dedicated only five of the niches in the building. The other two, to SS. Laurence and Vitus might have been consecrated at a later date.

[3] See plan in G. Rohault de Fleury, "Saint-André

Since no other records of this canopy exist, other than those in the Liber Pontificalis, the context of the entry itself may offer the only suggestion about its composition. The weight of the tiburium and the confessio are given together at 120 lbs. This might be an indication that the canopy and confession were joined together into one unit.

But, what was the "confessio" which Symmachus gave? The body of the apostle Andrew rested at Constantinople, and no relic of that Saint was brought to St. Peter's until the time of Gregory the Great.[1] Symmachus's "confessio," then, cannot have been a sarcophagus or a container for an actual relic but may have been simply part of an altar inside or below which brandea, small bits of cloth passed near the actual tomb of the martyrs for consecration and then brought to Rome, may have been placed. Thus, Andrew's protection over this structure was proclaimed in an inscription preserved in a later manuscript which was

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au Vatican," in Nuovo Bullettino d'Archeologia Cristiana, 1896, pp. 41-51, Tav. VI (I do not agree with the placement of the canopy in front of, rather than within, the niche.).

[1] See Ibid., p. 48. Gregory the Great is supposed to have brought the arm of St. Andrew from Constantinople. See also DACL, Vol. I, pt. 2, col. 2033.

probably placed near or in the niche dedicated to the apostle. It begins:

Andreas hic sanctus templi tutabitur aram[1]

The text of the *Notitia* given above also reports that Andrew's niche contained an altar in the 7th century. It seems possible that the word "confessio" in Symmachus's entry may refer to the shape of the altar. Instead of supports like table legs, the *mensa* may have been sustained below by a rectangular box or block as that built around the tomb or confession of Alexander and Eventius on the Via Nomentana (fig. 20). In this case, the supporting "block," inside or below which *brandea* might have been placed, was probably faced with silver.

If this "confession" or possibly box or "block-altar,"[2] dedicated to and protected by St. Andrew, were joined to the *tiburium*, then perhaps the canopy surmounted the confession like the monument at the Catacomb of S.

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[1] De Rossi, *Inscr. Crist*., II, 1, p. 257. G. Rohault de Fleury, *op.cit*., pp. 48-49, suggests that the inscription may have decorated architraves on the canopy, as on the one known from S. Clemente (see p. 174f. below).

[2] J. Braun, *Der Christliche Altar*, München, 1924, Vol. I, c. II distinguishes between "table," "box," and "block" altars.

Alessandro also (fig. 20). The columns of the canopy may have risen from the four corners of the altar-confession. The notation of three silver arches weighing 60 lbs. which immediately follows the entry of the tiburium and confessio, may have also belonged to this structure. The number three seems an odd one in regard to a canopy structure, but might, in relation to the position of the structure within a large niche, be significant.

The faithful would probably have viewed the monument only from the central part of the rotunda. Thus, only three sides of a canopy would have been visible from this vantage point. The three silver arches, which probably each weighed 20 lbs.,[1] might have risen above columns or architraves on these sides of the canopy only.[2] The clergyman officiating at the altar, perhaps only once a year, might have been the only person ever to walk back into the niche behind the canopy.

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[1] The 60 lb. weight given in the text probably recorded the total weight of the three arches together. See n. 1, p. 164 above.

[2] There are two other possibilities. The canopy might have projected from the back wall of the niche. However, in a space ca. 4x4 meters, this would hardly seem necessary. The three arches might also have formed a screen in front of the niche. But, since the canopy would be placed just behind it, it seems more likely that the arches belonged to the tiburium itself.

This *tiburium* seems to represent a new trend in the use of canopy structures at Rome. It did not mark, or even stand near, the venerated tomb of the apostle to whom it was dedicated. It contained what might be called a "symbolic confessio" or a "confession *in absentia*" which held no actual relic of the apostle but which may have contained *brandea* from his tomb. In this case, as Duchesne has pointed out, the choice of the dedication seems not without meaning: Andrew was the brother of St. Peter, and, in the 8th century, the body of Petronilla, who was believed to be the daughter of St. Peter, was moved to the adjoining rotunda.[1]

b. SS. Sylvester and Martin

The *Life* of Symmachus reveals that this pope also gave a silver canopy (*tyburium argenteum*) to a church inside the city of Rome: the *basilica sanctorum Silvestri et Martini iuxta Traianas*, which he *a fundamento construxit*. The canopy stood *super altare* and weighed 120 lbs. It was accompanied by gifts of twelve silver arches, weighing 10 lbs. each, and a silver confession, which weighed 15 lbs.[2]

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[1] Duchesne, "Vaticana, XI," pp. 390-391.

[2] Duchesne, *L.P.*, I, p. 262:

Little can be said about this canopy. The site of the church built by Symmachus has not yet been identified with certainty. It might have stood on the spot of the present church of S. Martino ai Monti[1] or even have been located on another street near-by.[2] Even the title of the church in this entry is considered suspect, for other documentary sources indicate that until the 9th century the churches of St. Silvester and St. Martin were separate edifices.[3] An early 6th century document, called the

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> Intra civitatem Romanam, basilicam sanctorum Silvestri et Martini a fundamento construxit iuxta Traianas, ubi et super altare tyburium argenteum fecit, qui pens. lib. CXX; arcos argenteos XII, qui sing. lib. X; confessionem argenteam, qui pens. lib. XV.

[1] R. Vieillard, Les Origines du Titre de Saint-Martin aux Monts à Rome, Roma, 1931.

[2] See B. M. Apollonj Ghetti, "Le Chiese Titolari di S. Silvestro e S. Martino ai Monti," in Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana, XXXVII, 1961, p. 271f, esp. pp. 283-297.

[3] See Ibid., pp. 274-279. The documentary evidence in this article suggests that there were indeed two churches: one, the titulus of St. Silvester and two, the church of St. Martin. (Perhaps the titulus Equitius was even a third church.) But the relationship of SS. Silvester and Martin to S. Lucia in Selci nearby is suggested by Krautheimer, Corpus, II, 2, 189f. He proposes that S. Lucia was probably a 2nd storey oratory which Honorius created in an already existing building of the 3rd or 4th century. The main entrance to this oratory probably also occurred on the same level opening onto the street near the present

Laurentian fragment, states that Symmachus dedicated the church of St. Martin near or next to St. Silvester's.[1]

Thus, the altar and confession in Symmachus's church may have been dedicated simply to St. Martin of Tours, and the church probably stood near the titulus of St. Silvester. The confession alone at this church weighed 15 lbs, and cannot have held the relics of St. Martin, or Silvester either, whose remains rested elsewhere.[1] Thus, the confession again, as at S. Andrea at

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S. Martino ai Monti. The Roman walls beneath S. Martino ai Monti indicate, according to Vieillard (pp. 72-73), structures of a different form and nature than Sergius's 9th century church above them. It is not impossible that a smaller church, dedicated to St. Martin, might have existed there, perhaps within the already existing Roman buildings. There are, besides, roof tiles from the time of Symmachus used on the present basilica of S. Martino ai Monti, as well as other fragments of capitals and chancel railings (see Apollonj Ghetti, pp. 282-83) in the Roman house next door and in near-by structures that may have belonged to Symmachus's church.

[1] See Apollonj Ghetti, op. cit., p. 275:

> Hic beati Martini ecclesiam iuxta sanctum Silvestrem Palatini inlustris viri pecuniis fabricans et exornans eo ipso instante dedicavit.

(See Duchesne, L.P., I, pp. xxx-xxxii about this fragment and its dating before the year 519 A.D.)

[1] St. Martin's at Tours; Pope Silvester's at the basilica of St. Silvester at the Catacomb of Priscilla. The bodies of Pope Silvester and Pope Martin (649-53) were translated under Sergius II (844-47) to the new church he had constructed on the site of S. Martino ai

the Vatican, may have contained brandea, or, more likely in the case of St. Martin, ampouls containing oil which were, according to Gregory of Tours, available at the martyr's tomb at Tours.[1] Thus, the confessio may have formed a block-like base that was faced with silver beneath or inside which ampouls were put. The mensa of the altar probably stood above it.

Above the altar rose the silver canopy, which in this case must have stood free of the altar itself since its weight is given separately. The 12 silver arches, of 10 lbs. each, which are entered in the text between the tyburium and the confessionem, may have belonged to the canopy or to the area of the church near the altar. If they did belong to the canopy, one can only imagine a round arcaded structure with 12 arches supported by 12 columns, perhaps even similar to the hemispherium at the Holy Sepulchre (see Part III, p. 323 below). It seems

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Monti (see G. A. Filippini, Ristretto di Tutto quello che appartiene all'antichita et veneratione della chiesa de'santi Silvestro e Martino de Monti di Roma, Roma, 1639, p. 75f).

[1] Gregory speaks of these ampouls several times in his writings: Liber de Gloria Beatorum Confessorum, cap. IX & X in Migne, P.L., 71, cols. 835-36; De Miraculis S. Martini, L. II, cap. XXXII (in Ibid., cols. 955-56); Liber III, cap. XXIV (in Ibid., col. 978); and in Historia Francorum, Liber Octavus (in Ibid., col. 459).

unlikely that there could have been fewer columns on Symmachus's canopy if the arches were used there, because all of the arches had the same weight and therefore did not possess the necessary variations in size to meet the different purposes of spanning the top, as well as between the columns, of the canopy.

Here, at any rate, a canopy rose above the altar of a city church. If St. Martin's was a titulus church or was ever related to the *titulus Equitii*, as has been suggested recently,[1] it might represent a new custom of dedicating each city or titulus church to a particular saint, regardless of whether the church possessed any relics or whether its site had any connection with the saint in question. The canopy itself, which may in this case honor the "confession *in absentia*" of St. Martin of Tours through the presence of ampouls from his tomb, really shelters the altar of the church.

c. S. Clemente

Remnants of what once may have been a canopy structure form parts of later decorations inside the basilica of S. Clemente. When a new church was constructed in the 12th century upon the remains of the older basilica below,[1] a fragment of an architrave, bearing an inscription, was used in the construction of the platform for the raised choir enclosure. The choir screens themselves were also brought from the lower to the new upper church and were used probably in much the same way that they had been before, except, perhaps, for their elevated position on a platform.[2] But the architrave became a construction block which was, fortunately, left visible below one of the screens just to the right of the entrance on the left hand side of the enclosure (see Fig. 35A).

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[1] Appilonj Ghetti, *op. cit*., pp. 272 & 278.

Upon the moulded side of the architrave, which faces the interior of the choir, is the inscription:

> ALTARETIBID̅S̅SALVOHORMISDAPAPA+MERCVRIVSP̅SCUMSOCIISOF[3]

or

> Altare Tibi D(eu)s Salvo Hormisda Papa Mercurius
> P(re)s(byter) cum Sociis Of(fert)[4]

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[1] See Krautheimer, Corpus, I, p. 119 & f.

[2] See DACL, Vol. III, pt. 2, col. 1883. One wonders if other archeological remains from the lower church might not also have been used in the construction of this platform in the upper church.

[3] For a full illustration of this, see de Rossi, Bullettino, 1870, Tav. X-XI, #1.

[4] DACL, Vol. III, pt. 2, col. 1596.

(See upper corner of the fig. 36, which illustrates a cast of the architrave.) A Cross (+) placed exactly in the middle of the architrave and centered just above the lettering[1] suggests that either the whole text of the inscription is present here or else parts of it are missing at both its beginning and end. The piece measures approximately 2.80 m. long by 0.17 m. high, and it is one foot deep at the top. The lettering appears on the lower fascia and is just visible today above the floor of the choir.

The inscription enables us to date the architrave with certainty. Pope Hormisdas (514-23) is mentioned, along with the donors of the monument in question, the priest Mercurius and his associate priests. An inscription found at S. Pietro in Vinculi establishes not only that Mercurius was a priest of the _titulus S. Clemente_ but that he later became Pope John II (533-35),[2] who decorated the choir of S. Clemente with the screens mentioned above which bear his monogram.

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[1] See illustration cited in note 3, p. 175 above.

[2] See Junyent, _Il Titolo di S. Clemente in Roma_, 1932, p. 157. The text of the inscription reads:

> JOHANNES COGNOMENTO MERCURIUS SANCTAE ECCLESIAE ROMANAE PRESBYTER ORDINATUS EX TITULO SANCTI CLEMENTIS AD GLORIAM PONTIFICALEM PROMOTUS.

The inscription on the architrave, or what is left of it, states only that Mercurius and his associates gave an altar to the church. But, there are also two columns that probably belonged with the same monument, which stand today at the far end of the left aisle in the present church, on the sepulchral monument of Cardinal Iacopo Venerio (+1479) (fig. 37). The columns are of white marble, like the architrave, and their shafts are entwined with carvings of vines, leaves, and birds. The capitals display undercut basket-weave and foliate patterns and around one of them the inscription MERCVRIVS PB SCE EC . . . S DNI[1] encircles a band (see fig. 36). Since the priest Mercurius is again mentioned in the inscription, there can be little doubt that the columns and architrave must have been combined into a monument around a new altar given to this titulus church by its clergy during the pontificate of Hormisdas.

The original church of S. Clemente, situated below the present one, has been reconstructed by Krautheimer[2]

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[1] See Krautheimer, Corpus, I, p. 118. The inscription cannot be read on the back of the capital because the column is applied to the wall behind (see fig. 36).

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 117f, esp. pp. 131f.

(fig. 38) and probably dates from the late 4th century.[1] The outlines of the choir on the plan belong, however, to the early 6th century and define the decorations of John II, who had been Mercurius. The mosaic floor, also visible on the plan, which helps to define the shape of the choir in the basilica, was placed some .27 cms. above the original floor of the church and must have been laid in conjunction with the choir,[2] perhaps by John II also. The widening of the choir in front of the apse of the church probably provided more space for liturgical processions and the rites of receiving offerings and the Eucharist[3] around the new altar of the church. The altar and its decorations must have been already in place when the choir and pavement were donated.

It may be that this altar decoration, which included the two columns and the section of architrave and probably other similar pieces, might have formed a kind of screen or even a pergola somewhere in front of the altar of the church, placed perhaps in the area in front of the apse. But since the choir enclosure was constructed soon after the altar itself, it seems to me more likely that the decoration for the altar probably formed a canopy rising directly over it. Before the choir decorations were added in the church, such a canopy might have emphasized the presence of the altar in the ample spaces of this basilica and set it clearly apart from the rest of the interior, even if a simpler and older choir enclosure were already present. If the surviving columns and architrave did form part of a canopy, the column bearing the inscription probably stood in front of the altar with the inscribed architrave placed above it. Then, another similar pair of columns probably completed the series[1] and carried architraves above also.

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[1] _Ibid_., pp. 133-34. [2] _Ibid_., pp. 130 & 133.

[3] T. Mathews, "Early Roman Chancel Arrangement," pp. 73 and 75.

If these remnants were part of a canopy, it must have risen above and honored an altar alone, as the inscription indicates. Although the church of S. Clemente may have been built on the site of what St. Jerome called the memoria Clementis,[2] the relics of that Saint were not brought there until the 9th century.[1] Thus the spot honored St. Clement,[2] but the basilica was a city titulus church,[3] where regular Sunday services were held, and not a martyrium. The altar alone, in this case, which was used simply for weekly Eucharistic celebrations and which probably did not contain even a "symbolic" confession in the 6th century, would have been distinguished by the canopy which sheltered it.

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[1] G. Clausse, Les Marbriers Romains, Paris, 1897, p. 18 claims that he saw two more identical columns applied to a later wall in the nave of the lower basilica. These may have been the casts of the fragments in the upper church that today appear on the stairway leading to the lower church. These casts appear in fig. 35.

[2] See Junyent, op. cit., p. 132f, esp. p. 154;

2. Remodelling of the Confession at St. Peter's

The Liber Pontificalis supplies information of yet another canopy erected at St. Peter's under the reign of Pope Gregory the Great (590-604). This decoration

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Krautheimer, Corpus, I, p. 118. Prof. Krautheimer questions whether the "memoria" mentioned by S. Jerome was a physical spot. He suggests that St. Jerome refers to the "memory" of Clement's name, rather than a specific place.

[1] G. Mullooly, St. Clement, Pope and Martyr, and His Basilica in Rome, Rome, 1869, p. 119. The relics were translated under Hadrian II (867-72).

[2] The memoria might represent a spot where significant events in Clement's life took place, as, for instance, the place where he often celebrated mass.

[3] It was called a titulus church in the records of the synods of 499 and 595. See Krautheimer, Corpus, I, p. 118.

undoubtedly coincides with the remodeling of the whole area around the tomb of the apostle, evident in the recent excavations at the Vatican.

The L.P. passage reads:

> Hic fecit beato Petro apostolo cyburium cum columnis suis IIII, ex argento puro . . . Hic fecit ut super corpus beati Petri missas celebraruntur.[1]

The passage supplies two facts about this canopy: it contained four columns and was made of pure silver. The last part of the entry, quoted above, indirectly suggests what the position of the canopy might have been. It implies that Gregory made some changes in the area around the tomb of St. Peter so that mass could be said directly above the body of the apostle. This implication suggests that an altar must have been placed at this time directly over St. Peter's tomb, in contrast to its former position in the transept of the basilica, as described by Gregory of Tours in the last decade of the 6th century.[2] One might guess from this that the new canopy stood directly over both the tomb and the altar above it, replacing the canopy with spiral columns with which Constantine had decorated the tomb.

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[1] Duchesne, L.P., I, p. 312.

[2] See Ward Perkins, Shrine of St. Peter, pp. 213-216. Gregory of Tours' description, quoted in Ibid., pp. 212-13, describes the transept at St. Peter's as in altare, indicating that in the last decade of the 6th century, the altar must have been placed in the transept. See discussion of this and supporting evidence in Ibid., p. 213 and n. 47, p. 234.

These suggestions are affirmed in part by the excavations around the tomb of the apostle. They show that, at one point in the history of St. Peter's, the six spiral columns, four of which were mentioned in Gregory of Tours's description,[1] were indeed removed from their original positions and placed in a row in front of the tomb of St. Peter (see fig. 39). At the same time, the floor of the Constantinian apse and the floor of an area protruding about 6 ms. into the transept to each side of the tomb were raised about 1.45 ms.[2] The six columns, three on each side of the tomb,[3] faced the front of this platform, which served as the presbytery[4] of the church and also the sanctuary. For, directly above the tomb of the apostle an altar was constructed in the center of the platform. It comprised a rectangular block which was faced with marble and enclosed the upper part of the smaller shrine that Constantine had built around the tomb.[1] The platform not only provided space for this altar and the presbytery over the tomb but also for a crypt which opened beneath the platform.[2]

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[1] et columnae mirae elegantiae candore niveo, quatuor numero quae ciborium sepulcri sustinere dicuntur. (Ibid., p. 213 and n. 45, p. 234.)

[2] Ibid., p. 216.

[3] Gregory III (731-41) placed 6 more columns of similar form in front of the Constantinian columns to form a double screen (see fig. 38). See text of Duchesne, L.P., I, p. 417.

[4] A clergy bench ran around the circle of the apse

Various elements of construction and decoration point to the reign of Gregory the Great as the date of this reconstruction.[3] But, above all, the text of Gregory of Tours, which reports the state of the shrine ca. 590 A.D. to be substantially the same as it had been in Constantine's day, indicates that Gregory the Great did institute the above changes.

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and, at the center, was the bishop's throne. See Ward Perkins, The Shrine of St. Peter, p. 216.

[1] Ibid., p. 218. The altar originally had in its West face both a reliquary recess and a fenestella, which was later blocked (See abb. 6, p. 50 in E. Kirschbaum, Die Graeber der Apostelfürsten, Frankfurt am Main, 1957).

[2] See Ward Perkins, Shrine of St. Peter, pp. 216-219 for more details of the crypt. A second "box" altar, dating from the time of Gregory the Great, also stood in the crypt, just to the West of the tomb (see Ibid., p. 217 and n. 52, p. 235).

[3] Ibid., p. 219.

If Gregory did dismantle the Constantinian canopy and build a new altar over the apostle's tomb, the silver canopy with four columns undoubtedly stood on the new raised level of the apse over both altar and tomb (see reconstruction in fig. 38).[1] It would have clearly separated the space around the altar from that of the presbytery behind it and, at the same time, marked the location of the tomb below, whose ancient aedicula was left partially visible through an arched opening in the wall in front of the tomb.[2] (See fig. 39)

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[1] It should be noted that in the reconstruction (fig. 38), only the 4 columns of the canopy are certain elements.

[2] This opening framed the so-called Niche of the Pallia. For its history and its relationship to the pre-Constantinian aedicula, see Ibid., pp. 220-24. See also diagram in Kirschbaum, op. cit., pp. 60-61.

PART II: CONCLUSIONS

Chapter One

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ALTAR CANOPY AT ROME AND IN ITALY

1. Constantinian Canopies

Constantinian canopies marked the tomb of the apostle Peter at Rome and the Tomb of Christ in Jerusalem. In addition, Constantine may have decorated the grave of the martyr Laurence at Rome with a canopy similar to that erected over the grave of St. Peter. If this were the case, then the form of the canopy surmounting the tomb of Peter must have been considered especially sacred. Perhaps this form was repeated over other tombs also.[1]

Constantine also donated another kind of canopy structure to the Lateran basilica in Rome. It has been suggested that this _fastigium_, in the form of a pediment supported by columns below, may have stood over silver life-sized figures of Christ, the apostles, and angels.[2]

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[1] See pp. 24 f. above and figs. 6 and 7.

[2] See Part I, chapter 1b.

It has been suggested, too, that the form and use of this *fastigium* were derived from the architectural structures that sheltered and glorified the Roman emperor and his court during public appearances and which may also have been called *fastigia*. But the structure at the Lateran had no single prototype and may also be partially derived, for example, from *aediculae* in temples which sheltered the cult statues of pagan gods or images of the deified emperors.

But if the imperial cult supplied the forms for the Lateran *fastigium*, did it also provide the forms for the canopy which marked the tomb of the apostle Peter in Constantine's day? The Lateran project had been undertaken first by Constantine before he turned to the site on the Vatican hill. Egger has recently suggested that the canopy at St. Peter's was possibly derived from canopies in royal audience halls.[1]

An examination of the forms and purposes of canopy structures in imperial Roman art and architecture may help to clarify this point. In the discussion above of the problem of the Lateran *fastigium*, two types of Roman canopy structures were cited: those that rose over the throne of the Roman emperor or his consuls, who shared some of the imperial authority, and those that framed the cult statues of gods or deified emperors.[1] From written descriptions and representations on coins or reliefs, both types of canopies seem to be covered with either a vault[2] or a pedimental roof[3] or both. But the canopy over the tomb of St. Peter would seem to have comprised neither a vault nor a pedimental roof, but only ribs arching diagonally from whose point of intersection hung a lamp in the form of a *corona*. Below this an enclosure with an arcuated entrance stood over the tomb itself. Thus, the vault (*camera*)[1] and pediment (*fastigium*) that may have stood above the two images of Christ at the Lateran would seem to have been conspicuously missing on the shrine of St. Peter. This lack suggests that perhaps the canopy at St. Peter's was not directly derived from canopies over imperial thrones in royal *aulae* but may have had a different purpose.

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[1] Egger, *Goldkreuz*, p. 190f.

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[1] See p. 55 f. above.

[2] A vaulted canopy covered the throne of the Byzantine emperors at Constantinople (see Alföldi, "Insignien u. Tracht . . .," pp. 130-131). See the imperial diptychs from Constantinople of ca. 500 A.D. showing a canopy over an empress (Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten* . . ., Taf. 13, #51 and 52, p. 38). See also a vaulted canopy over a patrician on a Western diptych of the early 5th century (*Ibid*., Taf. 20, #64, p. 43). See A. Alföldi, "Geschicte des Thronťabenakels" in *La Nouvelle Clio*, 1-2, 1949-50, p. 542ff on canopies over the Roman *sella curulis*, etc. A medal from the time of Commodus shows a statue of a two-faced Janus beneath a vault resting on four columns (F. Gnecchi, *I Medaglioni Romani*, Milan, 1912, Vol. II, p. 62, Tav. 84, #5.) A cross-vaulted canopy with four supports was also discovered in the corner of the atrium of a Roman house at Timgad in North Africa. It is not known what the canopy originally sheltered (H. Doisy, "Inscriptions Latines de Timgad," in *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, Tome LXV, 1953, pp. 108-113). See also T. Klauser, *Reallexicon für antike und Christentum*, III, 75-78.

[3] This is visible on the Missorium of Theodosius (fig. 13), on silver placques bearing representations of shrines of Jupiter Dolichenus (see P. Merlat, *Répertoire des Inscriptions et Monuments figurés du Culte de Jupiter Dolichenus*, Rennes, 1951, Pl. XI, 3 (pp. 120-21), Pl. XXXI, 1 (p. 303) & 2 (p. 305), Pl. XXXIII (p. 308), Pl. XXXIV (pp. 308-309)); on shrines to the Lares, for instance from the *Casa delle Pareti Rosse*, Pompei (whose two front columns are painted with vines); on the diptych showing the

The differences between the canopy structures of St. Peter's and the Lateran may have been purposeful and

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Consecratio of an emperor (Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten* . . ., Taf. 14, #56, pp. 39-40); on the diptych of Probianus from Rome, ca. 400 (*Ibid*., Taf. 18, #62, pp. 41-42) on a Roman relief in the Museo Nazinale, Rome (#39443) showing a shrine containing a statue of the Goddess Diana in a pastoral setting (A. G. Cultrera, "Il Rilievo paesistico rinvenuto presso il Giardino Colonna," in *Bollettino d'Arte*, 1908, p. 240), and on the examples mentioned on pp. 83-84, notes 1 & 3.

[1] Gilding for a *camera* was donated to St. Peter's in the time of Constantine, but, according to the Pola Casket representation (fig. 1), the *camera* did not stand over the tomb. It is probably, as Duchesne suggests (*L.P*., I, p. 194, n. 64), the vault of the apse. At the Lateran, however, the gold for two *camerae* was given for the *fastigium* and another probably for the apse vault also.

fitting, for although Christ gave Peter the authority to rule His Church, Peter was not part of the God-head itself, rather a kind of high priest who was left to care for the Church. It has been pointed out that Constantine gave the same accessories, an altar, a corona, and four large candlesticks, to both the tomb of Peter and the tomb of the empress Helena, Constantine's mother, on the Via Labicana.[1] Thus, Peter received the same honors as an imperial lady.

Members of the imperial family were usually buried in circular buildings. These structures are known from coins and medals (see fig. 40),[2] as well as from the remains of the actual buildings (tombs of Augustus and Hadrian at Rome; Mausoleum of Diocletian, Spalato; tomb of Romulus, Via Appia; tombs of Helena and Costanza; imperial tombs attached to St. Peter's, Rome). There is no remaining evidence of canopy structures placed within these tombs. Roman tombs for wealthy or influential families were also either round or else square surmounted by a second storey, on which stood a round canopy-like structure, carried on columns and culminating in a pointed roof,[1] not unlike the canopy placed over the Tomb of Christ.

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[1] See p. 21f. above.

[2] H. Cohen, Description Historique des Monnaies, Medailles Impériales, Leipzig, 1930, Vol. 6, pp. 533-34; Vol. 7, pp. 58, 73-75, 102, 182-184.

But there remains another aspect of Roman imperial ceremonies for the burial of the dead in which a canopy structure may have been used. The evidence for this is an account of Dio Cassius describing the funeral rites which Septimius Severus held for Pertinax at the end of the 2nd century A.D. A wooden platform was constructed by the marble rostrum in the Roman forum "upon which was set a shrine, without walls, but surrounded by columns, cunningly wrought of both ivory and gold."[2] Within this shrine an ivory and gold bier was placed upon which rested a wax image of Pertinax in triumphal garb. The emperor, the senators and their wives gathered there (the women sat in porticoes; the men under the open sky). A procession followed including images of famous Romans, choruses of men and boys singing a dirge and many others. At the rear came military regiments, all of the funeral offerings, and last of all, a gilt altar decorated with ivory and gems. Then Severus on the rostrum read a eulogy of Pertinax, after which the bier was taken to the funeral pyre[1] in the Campus Martius, where more ceremonies took place. After the pyre was lit, an eagle flew aloft from its top symbolizing the emperor's soul flying to heaven.

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[1] Examples are at Aquileia from the Augustan era (G. Brusin, *Aquileia e Grado*, Guida Storico-Artistica, Padova, 1956, p. 114); at Pompeii, the tomb of the Istacidii (A. Mau, *Pompeii, its Life and Art*, New York, 1902, (a restoration) f. 237); at S. Rémy in So. France, the mausoleum of Julius, ca. 30–20 B.C. (H. Walters, *The Art of the Romans*, London, 1928, Pl. LXV, p. 157); and at Capua on the Via Appia of perhaps the 2nd or 3rd c. A.D. (G.T. Rivoira, *Architettura Romana*, Milano, 1921, fig. 190 , p. 201).

[2] Dio Cassius, LXXV, in Loeb ed., IX, pp. 166-67f.

Although this description was written over a century before the reign of Constantine, it seems, when compared with other descriptions of the funerals of Augustus and Septimius Severus himself,[2] to represent a continuous tradition in the Roman imperial cult. Although inhumation burials became the fashion after Pertinax's time, the funeral rites perhaps stayed the same as before. The eagle atop the round structures on the *MEMORIAE AETERNAE* medals attest to the fact that a remnant of the old tradition, perhaps derived from the ceremonies at the funeral pyre, may have been symbolically preserved. But there is no evidence to suggest that the custom of placing the body inside a shrine "without walls surrounded by columns" may have persisted in imperial funerals. Eusebius in the _Vita Constantini_ describes how Constantine's body was brought to Constantinople and placed "in an elevated position in the principal chamber of the imperial palace and surrounded by candles burning in candlesticks of gold." The body was "arrayed in the symbols of sovereignty, the diadem and the purple robe."[1] Although there is no indication of it, one wonders if the body might have been placed beneath a shrine in the "principal chamber" of the palace, perhaps in an apse or beneath a _fastigium_ or canopy already there. If a special shrine or catafalque were used, there is no way of discovering what it, or for that matter any earlier shrines of this type, might have looked like.[2] But, lacking any clear prototype for the form of the St. Peter's shrine, one wonders if the imperial ceremonies for the burial of members of the royal family might have inspired some of these forms. Many of the same accessories seem to have been used at Peter's tomb: a gilt silver altar containing gems, reminiscent of that carried in the funerary procession for Pertinax; the four large gilt candlesticks, perhaps similar to the candelabra placed around the body of Constantine; the lamp in the form of a corona, possibly used in the same spirit as the diadem placed on or near Constantine's body as a symbol of his sovereignty. One cannot resist mentioning the funeral procession, the singing and the oration at imperial funerals,[1] which might provide additional background for the rites at venerated Christian tombs.[2]

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[1] See fig. 41 which may represent a funeral pyre of a member of the Haterii family. See pp. 210 f. below.

[2] On the funeral of Augustus, see Dio Cassius, LVI, in Loeb ed., VII, pp. 73-99. For a description of the funeral of Severus, see Herodian of Antioch's *History of the Roman Empire*, transl. by E. C. Echols, Los Angeles, 1961, Bk. IV, c. 11, pp. 110-112.

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[1] _Vita Constantini_, IV, c. LXVI in Schaff and Wace (Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers, 2nd series, Vol. I), p. 557.

[2] Since the original shrines of this type must have shielded the wax image of the deceased from the sun, they must have been constructed with some kind of a roof or vault. But if such temporary shrines or catafalques were constructed at a later date indoors, as in the case of Constantine, they might have not needed a full roof.

One might note also that canopies made of or with vines were sometimes used in the cult of Dionysus. One example shows a bower of vines surmounting a representation of the marriage of Dionysos and Ariadne on a Roman ash urn.[1] R. Eisler[2] mentions another relief at the Louvre depicting a Dionysiac altar beneath a canopy supported by "four vine-clad pillars." He feels these are "imitated in Christian art with new symbolic significance" at St. Peter's and elsewhere. The Dionysiac canopies seem to stem from a "tent-like structure, supported on columns, wreathed with vines," over the tomb of Dionysus's mother, Semele at Thebes. In the Roman world, as well as in the Greek, Dionysus became known as a funerary God who delivered souls from the dead, because of his association with the return of spring and vegetation each year. In Greece, a yearly funerary feast in which funerary sacrifices for the dead were offered ended several days of celebrations for the god. In Roman culture he was transformed into a mystic god and was sometimes substituted for Pluto as king of the Underworld. That this view was widely held is indicated by the episodes of his life that appear on Roman sarcophagi and by images of him that appear on some Roman tombs.[1] Could it possibly be in connection with funerary celebrations from the cult of Dionysus that vine columns and a rib vault were introduced at St. Peter's, in that place where funerary celebrations for the apostle's *Natale* and the *refrigerium* were held? The shrine on both the *SUCCESSA VIVAS* and *GAUDENTIANUS* medals are also closer to this type in form, and all of the shrines seem related to martyrs' tombs where rites for the dead were performed.

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[1] These ceremonies were cited in the case of the funeral of Pertinax (see n. 2, p. 191 above) and also took place at Constantine's funeral, where a military procession led by his son Constant~~in~~ius took the body of the deceased emperor to the Church of the Holy Apostles, and prayers and eulogies were performed at the church (Vita Constantini, IV, c. LXX and LXXI in Schaff and Wace, p. 558).

[2] See Krautheimer, "Mensa-Coemeterium-Martyrium," p. 32f. and p. 39-40.

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[1] F. Cumont, Recherches sur le Symbolisme Funéraire des Romains, Paris, 1942, p. 412, fig. 84; W. Altmann, Die Roemischen Grabaltäre der Kaiserzeit, Berlin, 1905, fig. 203, 203a, p. 267f. I am indebted to Mary Lee Thompson for pointing out this example, as well as the reference to the review cited in the following note.

[2] See E. Strong, Review of R. Eisler, Orphisch-Dionysische Mysteriengedanken in der Christlichen Antike, 1922-23, in Journal of Roman Studies, 16, 1926, p. 257, where he quotes from p. 191f of Eisler's book.

The smaller shrine within the larger shrine of St. Peter's canopy may have been adopted, as suggested earlier, to protect and represent the forms of the earlier aedicula. But these forms also seem parallel to some of the forms appearing on two consular diptychs: the diptychs of Clementinus (513) (fig. 41) from Constantinople and of Orestes (530) from Rome[2] show a similar arcuated opening flanked by columns around the seated consul. However these diptychs are both of the 6th century, and it is difficult to tell if parts of the decoration, such as a pediment, might have been omitted from the representations. However, it is noteworthy that in the early 6th century the chair of St. Peter was called by the same name as a part of the chair which the Roman consuls occupied on the diptychs, the *sella gestatoria*, which was probably originally derived from the chair of the emperors.[1] The garland which drapes from the center to the sides of the shrines on the diptychs above the consuls' heads are also reminiscent of those hanging from the upper part of the shrine on the SUCCESSA VIVAS medal (fig. 6).

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[1] Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire* . . ., art. "Bacchus," I, 1, pp. 632-34 and art. "Dionysos," II, 1, pp. 237-38.

[2] See Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten* . . ., Taf. 4, #15 and Taf. 6, #31, pp. 26 & 31.

Garlands draped in the same way and a *corona* similar in appearance to the one which was hung from the center of the canopy just in front of the grave of St. Peter (*ante corpus*) (see fig. 1) are also visible on a 6th century c.

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[1] See discussion of de Rossi, *Bullettino*, 1867, pp. 33, 37 and 47. He cites a text of Ennodius of Pavia (*Apologet. pro Synodo*) from the late 5th or early 6th century which refers to the chair of St. Peter in the Baptistery of St. Peter's as the *gestatoria sella apostolicae*. See references in Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire* . . ., art. "Consul," I, 2, pp. 1476 for the *sella gestatoria* of the consuls, which is like that of the emperor himself.

copy of a consular diptych (fig. 42).[1] Similar forms appear on the mosaic of the palatium at S. Apollinare Nuovo below the two arcades which flank the central opening.[2] Coronae in Roman times were, in the words of Pliny, "always regarded as indicating rank."[3] Roman law specified that they could be worn or used only by those who had justly earned them.[4] There were several types of coronae designating prizes of victory in athletics or honors in military and civic endeavors, such as the corona triumphalis or the corona civica.[5] The Roman senate had voted that the latter, made of oak leaves, be placed above the door of the palace of Julius Caesar because he was "a victor over his enemies and a saviour of the people."[6] The Roman emperors after that were often portrayed in the corona civica, and it also appeared on grave altars signifying that the deceased had achieved honors in public service.[1] Crowns were often found in tombs, but usually they indicated prizes attained by the deceased during life.[2]

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[1] Volbach, Elfenbeinarbeiten . . ., Taf. 5, #24, p. 29.

[2] Dyggve, Ravennatum Palatium Sacrum, fig. 49.

[3] Natural History, XXI, V in Loeb ed., VI, pp. 164-65.

[4] Ibid.

[5] See art. "Corona" in Daremberg-Saglio, Dictionnaire . . ., I, 2, p. 1522f. See also Alföldi, "Insignien u. Tracht . . .," pp. 10-11, 38-40.

[6] See Ibid., pp. 10-11. The quote is from Dio Cassius, LIII, 16 in Loeb ed., VI, pp. 234-35 E.

During the reign of Silvester, a lamp (*farus*) in the form of a *corona* had been placed above the tomb of the empress Helena. But *coronae* were also hung near the tombs of the martyrs Laurence and Agnes, as well as above the tomb of Peter.[3] Perhaps these *coronae* could signify both the triumph and victory of these martyrs and their services performed for the Faith.

As the canopy at St. Peter's may have been the model for the canopy depicted on the *SUCCESSA VIVAS* medal, so, too, the hexagonal canopy surmounting the Tomb of Christ may have influenced the forms of other Christian canopies. This is indicated by a representation on one of the short sides of the Pola Casket. It has been conjectured that all the scenes on the casket may have been taken from Christian monuments at Rome.[1] It seems reasonable to suppose that the shrines shown on the casket were visited during a single pilgrimage and that brandea were probably placed inside this box by the pilgrims who are represented visiting the shrines on the sides of the box. The shrine of St. Peter has been identified, but the identity of the other two shrines on the two short sides of the box remains obscure. The one in question (fig. 43) shows a canopy which is like that surrounding the Tomb of Christ.[2] It may be either hexagonal or octagonal, and it displays the same kind of pointed roof and round gables rising between each of the columns (see figs. 8-10).

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[1] See Altmann, *Grabaltäre* . . ., ch. 13.

[2] Daremberg-Saglio, art. "Corona," p. 1526.

[3] For texts, see Duchesne, *L.P.*, I, pp. 176, 180, 181, 182. Four coronas were also used at the Lateran, although it is not clear just where (*Ibid.*, p. 172; see p. 80 above). A *corona* also was given to the basilica of Peter, Paul, and John (*Ibid.*, p. 184), but none were donated during Silvester's reign to S. Croce in Gerusalemme, the *tituli* Equitius and Silvester, or the basilica of SS. Petrus and Marcellinus, whose actual tombs were located in the catacomb below their church.

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[1] T. Buddensieg, "Le Coffret en ivoire de Pola, Saint-Pierre et le Latran," in Cahiers Archéologiques, X, 1959, pp. 157-195.

[2] Ibid., p. 184 cites Wilpert's study (Atti Pontif. Accad. Arch, Series III, Memorie, II, 1928, p. 149f) which identifies this side of the casket as a symbolic rendering of the Adoration of the True Cross at the site of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. The casket, Wilpert feels (pp. 154-155), commemorated a pilgrimage to the Holy Land of a husband and wife who may have brought back with them a relic of the True Cross, perhaps for a private dedication.

However, if the basic forms of the monument are similar to those of the canopy over the Tomb of Christ, the smaller details are entirely different. The columns, for instance, are plain, not spiralled, and the designs on the gables and roof of the structure form scrolling vines, not rectilinear patterns. Thus, it becomes evident[1] that this relief does not represent the Tomb of Christ but may be related to it in some manner.

Since nothing remains of the area below the central intercolumnation of the structure on the casket relief, one has little to work with in attempting to suggest what monument, possibly in Christian Rome, might be represented there. Yet, in view of the polygonal form[2] and of of the apparent, if uncertain, relationship with the Tomb of Christ, it would seem reasonable to suggest, as Buddensieg has done, that the Lateran Baptistery is depicted. The building contained a round font, probably bordered by an octagonal base, and was constructed in the time of Constantine.[1] It was remodelled in the 5th century under Sixtus III (432-440).[2] The font was used early Easter morning each year for baptizing the new members of Christ's church.

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[1] The representation of St. Peter's shrine on the casket (fig. 1) does seem to record in detail the designs on the various architectural members. The renderings of the spiral columns attest to the probable accuracy of such details.

[2] Buddensieg, "Coffret de Pola," p. 186 discusses the problem of perspective in the casket reliefs. Some scholars have felt that this scene shows a canopy with only four sides, rendered in a reversed perspective like the St. Peter's canopy (fig. 1). Buddensieg concludes that this is not so because of the junction of the architraves in the center of each capital. Also the angles at the corners of the canopy are much larger and all sides are more or less the same width, unlike the representation of the canopy at St. Peter's.

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[1] The excavations revealed a round font which may not even have belonged to the Constantinian Baptistery (G. B. Giovenale, Il Battistero Lateranense, Roma, 1929, Tav. I). However, the decorations for the Baptistery given by Constantine include cervos argenteos VII fundentes aquam, as well as the golden lamb spouting water and two silver life-sized figures of Christ and John the Baptist (See pp. 63-64 and note 1 above). These decorations imply that the font, or the base around it (as seen in later drawings, such as that of Lafréry in the 16th century) had eight sides with eight jets of water issuing into the basin. See discussion of Paul Underwood, "The Fountain of Life," Dumbarton Oaks Papers, No. V, 1950, p. 50.

[2] Duchesne, L.P., I, p. 234:

> Hic constituit columnas in baptisterium basilicae Constantinianae, quas a tempore Constantini Augusti fuerant congregatas, ex metallo purphyretico numero VIII, quas erexit cum epistolis suis et versibus exornavit.

The Baptistery building was constructed on an octagonal plan at this time. See Giovenale, op. cit., Tav. I and the reconstruction of A. Tschira in Roemische Mitteilungen, 57, 1942, p. 116f, figs. 2-3.

The Liber Pontificalis account under Silvester indicates that a porphyry column, rising in the center of the font, held a vessel which burned 200 lbs. of balsam during Easter Day each year.[1] Perhaps, then, the relief in question shows the initiation of pilgrims, or of their child, into the Faith.

However, Buddensieg's discussion indicates that the casket may date from after 430 A.D. and that the representation in question probably shows the font after the remodelling project of Sixtus.[2] In view of the detailed and seemingly accurate rendering of the shrine of St. Peter on the same casket, it does not seem feasible to follow Buddensieg's suggestion that the vault of the canopy may represent the cupola of the Baptistery in abbreviated form and that the rounded gables may represent the window lunettes in the cupola, all perhaps decorated inside with mosaics of scrolling vines.[3] In terms of the Baptistery itself it would seem more reasonable to suggest that this shrine might be an earlier rendering of the Baptistery from perhaps the first decade of the 5th century. An extensive silver decoration weighing 3,000 lbs. had been given to the Baptistery during the era of Constantine according to the *Liber Pontificalis*.[1] The barbarians who

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[1] Duchesne, L.P., I, p. 174:

> In medio fontis columna porfyretica qui portat
> fiala aurea ubi candela est, pens. auro purissimo
> lib. LII, ubi ardet in diebus Paschae balsamum
> lib. CC, nixum vero ex stippa amianti.

[2] Buddensieg, "Coffret de Pola," pp. 186-87; his conclusions on the dating of the casket appear on p. 188f.

[3] The rendition of the shrine of St. Peter on the casket indicates that the artist who made the casket did

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not abbreviate or omit details within the limited scope of his subject as the designer of a coin or medal might have done.

[1] Duchesne, *L.P.*, I, p. 174:

> Fontem sacrum . . . ex lapide porfyretico et
> ex omni parte coopertum intrinsecus et foris
> et desuper et quantum aquam continet ex argen-
> to purissimo lib. $\overline{\text{III}}$ VIII.

Three thousand eight pounds is a large amount of silver. The font itself was covered with it on the "inside" (*intrinsecus*), on the "outside" (*foris*), "above" (*desuper*), and "where it contained water" (*quantum aquam continet*). One wonders if all the silver simply faced the font itself and the base around it--or could some of it have been used for a canopy over (*desuper*) the font, which might have been considered an integral part of the structure? If a silver canopy did exist here, patterned after the Tomb of Christ, it would also have to date after ca. 333-335 when the monument at Jerusalem was being built. (It was dedicated in 335.) But the records of Sixtus III (see n. 2, p. 202 above) indicate that the eight porphyry columns, which he used around the font, had been collected in the time of Constantine. The fact that they were not used in Constantine's day might indicate that the decoration of the baptistery was not completed during his reign and might have been completed after his death. At that time a decoration in the form of a silver canopy based on the Tomb of Christ might have been preferred. As destroyed the Lateran _fastigium_ in 410 might also have stolen this decoration. Sixtus, then, might have repaired the Baptistery along with the Lateran _fastigium_. If this were so, a Baptismal font canopy might have existed at Rome by the second half of the 4th century. But the problem must remain unresolved, for Buddensieg's conclusions, if they are true, do not support such a theory.

There remains another possibility which can be related to Wilpert's interpretation of this relief. He felt that the scene represents pilgrims adoring the True Cross at Jerusalem.[1] But there was a fragment of the True Cross also at Rome which had been in _auro et gemmis conclusit_ and placed in the basilica of S. Croce in Gerusalemme, built under the reign of Constantine and his sons.[2] Although this relic was probably kept in the Chapel of St.

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mentioned in the text, this interpretation does not tally with Buddensieg's dating of the casket.

Paul Underwood ("Fountain of Life," pp. 51-54), according to another version of the _L.P._ text under Sixtus which states that _fecit ornamentum super fontem quod ante non erat_, feels that there was no canopy in the baptistery before the reign of Sixtus III. However, the text variant might have referred more specifically to the porphyry columns, the epistyles, and the cupola, rather than to the previous decoration in the baptistery.

[1] See n. 2, p. 200 above.

[2] Duchesne, _L.P._, I, p. 179.

Helena during the year, it was probably put on display within the basilica proper during the season of the Passion and Easter. Deichmann has suggested that perhaps some structure for this purpose, possibly like the structure in a central location at Trier Cathedral, stood beneath the colonnaded area in the center of this church.[1] The relief might show such a shrine with the pilgrims adoring the fragment of the Cross. The name of the basilica suggests that the building comprised some intended reminiscence of the monuments at Jerusalem. The jeweled crosses, which appear around the reliefs on the Casket, might also relate to this scene. But, with so few facts to work with, one can only say that a canopy, probably from Rome, seems to have been inspired by the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.

Funerary canopies, then, over venerated tombs, seem to be the principal type of Christian canopy introduced by Constantine.

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[1] F. W. Deichmann, Frühchristliche Kirchen in Rom, Basel, 1948, p. 31.

2. Canopies of the Late 4th and 5th Centuries

The most important monument, containing remnants of Christian canopies, to come to light from the late 4th or early 5th centuries is the complex at S. Alessandro on the Via Nomentana. This provides the only two certain examples of canopy structures built within a catacomb chapel around Rome from this era. All other remnants cited in Part I, chapter 2, are so fragmentary that their original purpose or position is doubtful. But the examples at S. Alessandro become a key which helps to unlock the problem of the possible dispositions of these fragments.

It is significant that the two canopies in the catacomb complex at S. Alessandro were probably not just alike. One seems to have surmounted the grave of a martyr alone without the addition of an altar. The other, sheltering the double grave of Alexander and Eventius, rose from the four corners of an altar which stood over the double tomb and was enclosed on its four sides by walls, faced with marble on the inside and with chancel grating on its outer front. The importance of this last canopy cannot be underestimated, for it suggests that, by the early years of the 5th century, a kind of confession, an altar formed like a box with a *fenestella* in front opening a passage to the relics below, stood in the catacombs surmounted by a canopy.

There is evidence that by the late 4th century altars were also introduced in conjunction with the tombs that were sheltered by canopies from the time of Constantine. In fact, an altar had been included in the donations of Constantine to St. Peter's basilica earlier in the century and, as has been discussed, may perhaps have stood, as the altar at the tomb of Helena did, *ante sepulchrum*.[1] Etheria, writing in the 380's, mentions that Mass was celebrated on many occasions in front of the Holy Sepulchre.[2] And, in the early years of the 5th century, according to the *Vita S. Melaniae junioris*,[3] an altar stood either over or in front of the tomb of St. Laurence which may also have been sheltered by a canopy donated by Constantine. Thus, it is clear that by the late 4th century altars had become a part of the complex at venerated tombs of saints and martyrs. The exact forms of these altars is unknown. An altar which was used to celebrate the feasts of the popes buried in the Chapel of the Popes at the Catacomb of S. Callixtus was in the form of a table carried beneath by four supports.[1] Such, suggest scholars,[2] was perhaps the principal shape of early altars in general.

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[1] See pp. 21 - 22 above.

[2] See p. 48 and note 1 above.

[3] *Analecta Bollandiana*, 1889, p. 24, #6 recounts how Pinianus, Melania's husband, after the death of their child, went to S. Lorenzo "ad sanctum martyrem et prosternens se sub altare coepit cum lacrimis . . . ."

But by the early 5th century, a box-like altar surmounted the graves of Alexander and Eventius and supported a small canopy above. Small column bases similar to those found at S. Alessandro were discovered in the Basilica of S. Silvestro at the Catacomb of Priscilla and suggest that the same kind of monument may have stood over the graves of the martyrs Felix and Philip there. It is noteworthy that pagan altars, too, were sometimes sheltered by small canopies standing directly on the altar. At Rome two such canopies from the late 1st century A.D. are represented on reliefs belonging to the tomb of the

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[1] See note 1, p. 125, in Part I above.

[2] See studies of F. Wieland, Altar u. Altargrab, and J. Braun, der Christliche Altar, I, p. 125f.

Haterii family.[1] Both canopies shelter the fire on the altar (see fig. 44) and may have been used to protect the sacrificial flames.[2] Similar canopies appear on other reliefs.[3] One of these canopies shelters fruits placed on the altar[4] and may protect these offerings from the damages of sun and weather.

St. Jerome, in fact, indicates that this was the purpose of roofs which covered four "altars" placed near the North Gate of the Temple at Jerusalem. He comments on a passage from the book of *Ezekiel* (40:39f) which describes four tables (*mensae*) made of stone upon which animals were to be slain for sin and trespass offerings. All four tables were sheltered by "roofs" above (*et ipsae mensae tectae erant desuper*) so that sun, storms and tempests would not destroy the offerings placed there. St. Jerome significantly interprets this image as a vision of Christ's Church. The four altars of the Holocaust symbolizing the four Evangelists hold vases which contain the remains of martyrs who have sacrificed their souls for God.[1] The concept Jerome expresses here is remarkably close to the spirit in which the forms at S. Alessandro were actually used.[2] St. Ambrose seems to carry a similar image one step closer to the arrangement at S. Alessandro by citing in his

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[1] These are now in the Lateran Museum, Rm. VIII, #'s 416 and 418 (see *Guida Breve ai Musei del Laterano*, Città del Vaticano, 1948, p. 22).

[2] This possibility was suggested in Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire* . . ., I, 1, p. 352.

[3] See Th. Schreiber, *Die Hellenistischen Reliefbilder*, Leipzig, 1894, Pl. LVI & LXX; see also H. Schoppa, *Die Kunst der Römerzeit in Gallien, Germanien und Britannien*, München, 1957, fig. 85 and E. B. Smith, *The Dome*, Princeton University Press, 1950, fig. 106, for a canopy erected over the Pergamon Altar.

[4] Pl. LXX in Schreiber, cited in note 3 above.

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[1] Comm. in Ezechiel, Lib. 12, c. 40 in Migne, P.L. 25, col. 391:

> Super ipsas autem quatuor mensas holocaustorum vivis lapidibus extructas, . . . ponuntur vasa in quibus immolatur holocaustum martyrum, . . . et eorum victimae, qui continentia et corporis sanctitate, animas suas immolant Domino. Mensarumque istarum nomine, puto in Matthaeo et Luca, Marco et Joanne apostolis contineri, . . .! Et "ipsae mensae tectae erant desuper," propter imbrium violentiam, et aestivi solis nimiam siccitatem; ut carnes desuper positae, possint dicere cum prophetae: "Per diem sol non uret nos, neque luna per noctem." (Ps. 120, 6) Quorum aeternum, nimiis pluviis, et tempestatibus tribulationum dissolvit oblationes; . . .

[2] It should be noted that St. Jerome's treatise dates between 410-414 (after the sack of Rome, see Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers, 2nd series, Vol. VI, p. 499) probably after the complex at S. Alessandro was built.

apologia prophetae David the famous passage of John in *Revelation*, VI, 9: "I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the word of God and for the testimony which they held." Ambrose makes allusions to the altar of the Holocaust and proclaims that just as calves had been offered on sacred altars, now the souls of the martyrs placed beneath the altar became the true spiritual sacrifice offered to Christ.[1]

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[1] *Apologia prophetae David*, c. XVII in Migne, *P.L.*, 16, 884:

> Haec est justitiae spiritualis oblatio, et holocaustum ferventis devotionis, ... Cum benedixeris Ecclesiam ex gentibus acquisitam, et spiritale sacrificium justitiae coeperit frequentari, tunc et martyres sancti qui suum pro Christi corpus obtulerint exarandum, tamquam vituli sacris altaribus,offerentur; sicut in Apocalypsi Joannis scriptum invenimus (Apoc. IV, 9), quia sub altari erant animae eorum, qui pro Domini Jesu nomine corpore sua obtulerunt martyrio, ut Christi sibi gratiam mercarentur: . . .

Ambrose is not the only one to refer to the influential passage in *Apocalypse*. A sermon (LXXVII) on the Natale of St. Cyprian of St. Maximus of Turin from the 5th century also uses it in a less mystical and more concrete spirit:

> Recte ergo sub ara martyres collocatur, quia super aram Christus imponitur. Recte sub altare justorum animae requiescunt, quia super altare Domini corpus offertur.

Here is a clear reference to relics placed beneath an altar on which the Eucharist is offered (*ara* . . . *in qua Deo sacrificium celebratur, in qua offeruntur hostiae*)in Migne, *P.L.*, 57, col. 689-90.

One wonders if Christian writings such as these could have influenced the actual forms of the monuments. It is also possible that pagan altars with canopies could have provided the forms for canopy and altar combinations like that at S. Alessandro or perhaps at S. Silvestro in the Catacomb of Priscilla. In all cases the canopy would seem to shelter a sacrifice or offering placed on or below the altar. The burnt offerings on the reliefs from the Haterii Tomb seem to be for the burial of the dead, especially the one placed beside what is probably a funeral pyre[1] (fig. 44).

In the case of the Christian monuments, two ceremonies were performed at venerated tombs on the Natale of the deceased: one, the offerings of food and wine provided by the faithful for funerary banquets, or the refrigerium, following the pagan practices of the Parentalia; and two, the celebration of the Eucharist, symbolizing the supreme sacrifice of Christ for which the martyr died. Studies have been made on these two rituals and the milieu and accoutrements needed for their performance.[1] It is not cleariif one or both of the ceremonies may have influenced the forms of venerated tombs. Some evidence, especially from North Africa,[2] seems to point toward the offerings of food and wine for the *refrigerium* as the purpose of the shelf-like space, perhaps in an *arcosolium*, above Christian tombs, but there is no clear answer to this question. *Refrigeria* for Peter and Paul had been held in a *triclia* at S. Sebastiano in the third century in Rome. It is uncertain whether the bodies of the apostles were actually moved there because of the persecutions or if the ceremonies themselves were simply performed in a place apart from the tombs.[3] But funeral banquets in honor of St. Peter were performed in his basilica on the Vatican

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[1] S. Ferri, "Fenomeni di prolepsis disegnativa nell'arte antica," in Rendiconti dell'Accademia dei Lincei, Roma, ser. 5, Vol. 3, 1948, pp. 61-80 suggests that the large structure in fig. 44 may be a funeral pyre. The other relief is discussed by F. Castagnoli, "Gli Edifici Rappresentati in un Rilievo del Sepolcro degli Haterii," in Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica del Governamento di Roma, LXIX, 1941, pp. 49-69, where the author dates it in the Flavian era.

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[1] See Krautheimer, "Mensa-Coemeterium-Martyrium," pp. 31-37; Wieland, *Altar u. Altargrab*, p. 145f; L. Hertling & E. Kirschbaum, *The Roman Catacombs and their Martyrs* (trans. by M. J. Costelloe), Milwaukee, Wisc., 1956, pp. 130-33; Cabrol & Leclercq, *DACL*, XI, art. "mensa," col. 440f.

[2] See Wieland, *Altar u. Altargrab*, pp. 146-47, 152.

[3] See Hertling & Kirschbaum, *Roman Catacombs* . . ., p. 76f and Ward Perkins, *The Shrine of St. Peter* . . ., pp. 167-82.

Hill in the 4th century.[1] It seems possible that the travertine slab above the tomb of St. Peter, when Constantine's basilica was first opened, might have received such offerings for the refrigeria, whereas the altar for the Christian Eucharist was a separate structure mentioned in the Liber Pontificalis.[2]

It is clear that by the end of the 4th century conflicts between the two rituals of the Eucharist and the refrigerium arose which caused the Early Christian fathers to rule against the latter ceremony. The funerary banquets during the 4th century at Rome had grown to tremendous proportions at the tombs of Peter, Paul, Laurence, Agnes and other specially venerated martyrs. They became huge and unmanageable, full of excesses and abuses.[1] St. Ambrose sought to check the custom at Milan, and Augustine, too, in North Africa denounced the ceremonies.[2] Gaudentius of Brescia in a sermon recounts how the excesses of the funeral meal make the celebration of the sacrifice which follows into a sacrilege.[3] The celebration of the Eucharist, then, must have followed these banquets and been too often received in a far from holy spirit. Augustine advocates that, instead of partaking in a funeral meal at the Natale of St. Cyprian, one drink only the Blood of Christ as a proper celebration of the _Natale_.[4] Thus, at the end of the 4th century the _refrigeria_ were gradually dropped, and a transformation took place which S. Zeno of Verona describes in these words: "Ipsa inquam, mortuorum sepulcra convertit in templa, tumulos in altaria, . . . parentalia in sacrificia, mores in sacra."[1] However, this transformation may have represented simply the elimination of the funeral banquet from the ceremonies of the Natale so that one concentrated on the sacrifice of the Holy Eucharist alone as the focal point of the service.

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[1] See p. 195 above.

[2] The term "altare" used to describe the structure noted in the Liber Pontificalis indicates that this was probably for Eucharistic celebrations. See the discussion of the terms "altare" and "mensa" in Krautheimer, "Mensa-Coemeterium-Martyrium," p. 35. The term "mensa" seems to have been almost synonymous with "altare" from the late 4th century on (as they are in the writings of Paulinus of Nola who uses both words, for instance, in Carmen 27, 11, 401-403 [Goldschmidt, p. 54] and in Ep. 2, #2 and of Prudentius, who uses the words ara, altare, and mensa to describe Eucharistic altars by the graves of saints: see, for example, Peristeph. Liber., III, 11, 211-12; V, 517-20; IX, 99-100; XI, 167-69), but this is precisely the time when the funerary banquet offerings were being omitted and the altar became the focus of the service for the martyrs (see discussion on pp. 210-215).

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[1] Krautheimer, "Mensa-Coemeterium-Martyrium," pp. 32-33.

[2] See Augustine, _Confessions_, XIII, vi, 2 in Migne, _P.L._, 32, col. 719 and note 4 below.

[3] Serm. _IV de Exodi_ in Migne, _P.L._, 20, col. 870-71:

> Nam gulae suae causa primum coeperunt prandia mortuis praeparare quae ipsi comederent; post hoc etiam sacrificia ausi sum eis sacrilega celebrare, i quamvis nec ipsi mortuis suis munus sacrificent qui exercent parentalia, dum super sepulcrorum mensas tremulis ebrietate manibus vina fundentes, spiritum sit sitire balbutiunt.

[4] Sermo CCCX in Migne, _P.L._, 38, col. 1412-13: _ibi hodie venerans multitudo concurrit, quae propter natalem Cypriani bibit sanguinem Christi_, etc.

This "sacrifice" took place, as S. Zeno indicates, "within graveyards turned into temples" on "tombs converted into altars," as we have seen at S. Alessandro and possibly at S. Silvester. The canopies which decorated these monuments then surmounted both tomb and altar together. But the second example of a canopy from S. Alessandro seems to shelter only a tomb, perhaps indicating that the canopy had been primarily a decoration to honor the tombs of the martyrs rather than the altars which became associated with them.

The Constantinian canopies had marked above all specially venerated tombs, and the remnants of columns and architraves which have been found near the tombs of SS. Nereus and Achilleus, SS. Simplicius, Faustinus, and Viatrix, S. Hermes, and SS. Felix and Philip, as well as those found at S. Alessandro, all bear inscriptions which speak of the martyr or martyrs buried near-by. Altars are not mentioned on these fragments. In most cases it is impossible to reconstruct the form of the monument in question. But in the light of the evidence of Constantinian canopies and the monuments at S. Alessandro, it seems quite possible that canopies could have marked these tombs. All remnants are from catacomb chapels or churches, and several of these churches have niches at the back of an apse which probably contained clergy seats, as that found at SS. Simplicius, Faustinus, and Viatrix. The graffito at SS. Nereus and Achilleus depicted a seated priest at the back of this niche, and a clergy chair was probably also placed behind the tomb-altar-canopy complex at S. Alessandro.[1] This seat was probably provided for the celebrant of the mass at the Natale of the martyr. It indicates that the Eucharist was probably performed on or near the tomb which was usually located within the apse itself. A canopy at SS. Nereus and Achilleus could have stood over an altar which rose above the tombs within the relatively small apse around it. The two, rectangular and rounded, niches which open behind the apse of S. Ermete, however, suggest that space might possibly have been provided for three separate elements: one, the tomb; two, an altar; and three, the chair for the celebrant.

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[1] Lib. I, Tract. IV in Migne, P.L., col. 296.

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[1] See pp. 112-113 and 98f above.

At SS. Simplicius, Faustinus, and Viatrix, however, the graves of the three martyrs probably were situated in a catacomb chamber behind the apse of the small basilica. Thus, in this case, a separation of the martyr's graves from the altar used to celebrate their Natale must have occurred, even though the distance that separated them was short.[1] In this case, then, a canopy may have stood over an altar alone. The clergy seat in the niche at the back of the apse indicates that the altar probably served for Eucharistic celebrations on the feast of these martyrs. Since a canopy placed over this altar would have been detached from the tomb itself, even though it honored the sacrifice of these martyrs, it seems to represent a transferral of the canopy from the grave to the altar provided for its yearly memorial celebration by the 380's.

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[1] This may have occurred elsewhere in Rome. See Krautheimer, "Mensa-Comemeterium-Martyrium," pp. 26-27. An altar, according to the Liber Pontificalis, was given the large basilica of SS. Pietro & Marcellino, but their tombs were located in the catacomb below. An altar for the Natale of St. Cyprian, who was buried in North Africa, may have existed at the Catacomb of Callixtus in Rome, since the Depositio Martyrum of 354 proclaims that on the XVIII Kal. Oct. Cypriani, Africae, Romae celebretur in Callisti.

Two examples of canopies from the late 4th century, one from Southern Italy, the other from Northern Italy, supplement the material found at Rome and illustrate that the use of canopy forms to shelter venerated tombs prevailed outside of Rome in Italy. When, sometimes between 394 and 403 A.D.,[1] Paulinus of Nola reconstructed the basilica on the site of the grave of St. Felix, he built around it a large colonnaded structure within which was a smaller shrine containing the tomb of the Saint. The dimensions of this smaller shrine date back to much earlier times when a small grave chamber surrounded the tomb of Felix and two other graves. This chamber was incorporated in the first half of the 4th century into a basilica honoring St. Felix.[2] However, it stood within a rectangular extension of the nave on the West, at the opposite end of the church from the apse (see fig. 45C). Remnants of a wooden aedicula around the tomb were found in the excavations. This was supplanted by a more elaborate structure, Chierici speculates, perhaps under Pope Damasus, who visited and decorated the tomb.[1] The upper part of this structure has been totally destroyed, and it is not clear from excavation reports whether there once was a canopy-like structure over the tomb. There is no mention of columns having stood directly above the tomb, but Chierici suggests that a single vault may have once covered this area.[2] Paulinus in his remodelling of the site placed a large square canopy comprising 12 re-used antique columns, which carried three arches on each side of the structure, around the tomb (fig. 46). These arches were decorated on the inside with mosaics. The whole structure, Chierici reports, once carried "una volta coperta da stuchi di cui non resta che un vago ricordo."[3] The tomb of Felix did not stand beneath the center of the canopy but was situated under the West side of the canopy near the central arch.

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[1] G. Chierici, "Cimitile," in Palladio, 1957, p. 72.

[2] Ibid., p. 71.

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[1] Ibid., p. 70. For the verses of Damasus at the tomb of St. Felix, see de Rossi, Inscript. Crist., II, p. 190, #3.

[2] Chierici, "Cimitile," 1957, p. 70.

[3] G. Chierici, "Cimitile," in Palladio, 1953, p. 176.

In spite of its large size, the primary function of this canopy must have been to honor and mark the tomb of Felix. The tomb of this Saint was covered with a marble slab faced with silver and surrounded in some manner by chancels.[1] It is not clear just how these elements were combined, but it would seem that they did not form an altar over the tomb. For the Eastern apse of Felix's grave church must have served for the celebration of the Eucharist in the earlier 4th century. Otherwise, there would seem to be little purpose for its existence. A second apse (D on plan, fig. 45) was added to the West of the basilica during the 4th century.[1] Paulinus also in his numerous accounts of the site always refers to the tomb of St. Felix by itself, never as containing or forming an altar. The main altar of his new apostles church was situated so that it was in view of Felix's tomb.[2] Thus, mass was probably not celebrated directly over the tomb itself.

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[1] See Paulinus, Carmen 21 in Migne, *P.L.*, 61, col. 593, ll. 586-89:

> Martyris abstrusi solium, claudente sepulchri
> Cancello latus in medio, sit pagina quaedam
> Marmoris, adfixo argenti vestita metallo.

and col. 596, ll. 621-25:

> Et primus labor illis
> cancellos removere loco, curaque sequenti
> Haerentes tabulas resolutis tollere clavis.
> Verum ubi depressam sub tegmine marmoris arcam
> Vidimus inrupta solii compage manentem,

Were these decorations replaced in the 5th century by the sarcophagus found at the tomb? See Cabrol & Leclercq, *DACL*, art. "Nole," XII, pt. 2, col. 1424 and *Corpus Insc. Lat.*, X, pt. 1, #1400d.

The uniqueness of the canopy over Felix's tomb, in comparison with evidence from Rome, is in the large size of the monument and in its position within the basilica around it. The latter may be closer to some of the plans of classical and Christian basilicas in North Africa.[3]

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[1] Chierici, "Cimitile," 1957, p. 71.

[2] Paulinus, Ep. 32, #13 in Goldschmidt, Paulinus's Churches at Nola, p. 41:

> the basilica does not, however, as is more usual, look to the East, but is turned toward the basilica of my blessed Lord Felix, facing his tomb" (memoriam eius adspiciens).

[3] Although the grave of St. Felix was not placed in an atrium, it appeared in a position, within the plan of his church, analogous to the placing of tombs in the forecourt of some North African funerary basilicas. At Makhtar is a Roman example where the body of Julius Piso, to whom the basilica was dedicated, may have rested beneath a canopy-like structure in the atrium (G. Picard,

One might also note that in some small catacombs around Naples, in Malta, and in the Eastern part of Sicily, rough canopies were hewn out of the rock over some graves. The upper part of these "baldachinos" formed a kind of vault which attached to four or more rough supports that stood on top of the grave or graves beneath it (see fig. 47). These structures seem to date from post-Constantinian times, perhaps from the late 4th or early 5th centuries.[1]

"La Basilique funéraire de Julius Pise à Mactar," in Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 1945, pp. 185-212). At the basilica of St. Menas in Egypt, too, the crypt containing the body of the Saint was located just in front of the facade of the church (J. B. Ward Perkins, "The Shrine of St. Menas in the Maryût," in Papers of the British School at Rome, XVII, 1949, p. 42f). It might also be noted that at Orleansville, the tomb of Reparatus and the apse around it were added in the early years of the 5th century opposite the main apse of the church (F. Prévost, "Notice sur Orléansville," in Revue Archéologique, IV, 1847, p. 660f). See also N. Duval in Cahiers Archéologiques XIII, 1962, pp. 276-278 for a discussion of the "contre-abside" in North Africa. Also, some North African tomb monuments, such as at Ghirza, contain a series of 3, 4, or 5 columns sustaining arches on each side of square or rectangular tomb monuments (see fig. 48B). This arrangement is in some ways reminiscent of Paulinus's large canopy around the tomb of Felix. (Models of these tombs appear in the Museum at the Esposizione Universale outside Rome, Sala XLIV, #'s 10 & 11.)

[1] See G. Agnello, "Catacombe Inédite di Cava d'Ispica" in Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana, XXXV, 1959, p. 99; *idem*., "Sicilia Cristiana," in R.A.C., XXX, 1954, p. 177 & 184; *idem*., "Sicilia Cristiana. Le Catacombe dell'Altipiano di Ragusa," R.A.C., XXIX, 1953, pp. 70-74; and *idem*., "Rilievi Strutturali e Sepolcri a Baldacchino nelle

Even before Paulinus had constructed the new arrangement of the churches at Nola, St. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, had begun work on a basilica, now called S. Ambrogio, in which he wished to be buried when he died. In one of his letters of the year 386,[1] the bishop explains that the church had already been dedicated when people said to him "Dedicate (it) as the Roman basilica" (Sicut Romanum basilicam dedices,[2] that is, on the relics of holy martyrs. Shortly after this, he found the relics of two martyrs, Gervasius and Protasius, at the cemetery church of S. Nabore near-by and placed these remains beneath the altar of the basilica Ambrosiana, giving them the place of honor to the right beneath the altar and leaving the left hand side for himself.[3]

Catacombe di Sicilia," in Atti V Congresso di Archeologia Cristiana (Studi Cristiani XXII), pp. 209-301. See also Cabrol & Leclercq, DACL, art. "Baldachin," II, pt. 1, col. 158-161.

[1] Epistola XXII (Class. 1) in Migne, P.L., XVI, col. 1091f.

[2] Does this mean "dedicate the basilica as at Rome" as Porter (Lombard Architecture, II, p. 539f) suggests, or, as is more generally accepted and much more likely, "dedicate (it) as the Roman basilica," meaning the basilica apostolorum placed outside the Porta Romana in Milan?

[3] Migne, P.L., XVI, col. 1023, #13:

The information in Ambrose's letter coincides with the excavations in the 1860's below the altar of this church. Beneath the present altar and ciborium, two graves faced with marble were discovered (see fig. 48A, b, & b´). The left hand one (from the standpoint of the offering priest)[1] was smaller and probably belonged to Ambrose; the right hand one was larger, probably for the two martyrs. A marble slab rested above upon the two graves and, as Wieland suggests,[2] may have formed the base of an altar or mensa which stood over the graves, as mentioned in St. Ambrose's letter.

Around the graves the excavators also discovered that bases of red porphyry which appear to be of antique origin supported the four columns of the later ciborium and rested directly upon remnants of the original pavement of the church, 1.08 ms. below the present pavement (see

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Succedant victimae triumphales in locum, ubi Christus hostia est. Sed ille super altare, qui pro omnibus passus est. Isti sub altare, qui illius redempti sunt passione. Hung ego locum praedestinaveram mihi; dignum est enim ut ibi qui requiescat sacerdos, ubi offerre consuevit: sed cedo sacris victimis dexteram portionem; locus iste martyribus debebatur.

[1] See Wieland, Altar u. Altargrab, p. 138.

[2] Ibid.

fig. 48A,2).[1] Both the bases of the canopy and the two graves are off-center from the main axis of the church today.[2] Their axes point more accurately in an East-West direction and suggest that both elements were part of the same decoration dating back to the late 4th century.

The bases and graves, coupled with Ambrose's letter, bear witness to the presence in S. Ambrogio at the end of the 4th century of an altar surmounting two graves and sheltered by a canopy. Possibly this arrangement may even have been adopted to emulate similar monuments in the Roman catacombs. But, unlike the arrangements in Rome at this time, where basilicas were constructed in the catacombs or graveyards at the tombs of the martyrs, St. Ambrose's procedure was to move the holy relics that he found to the spot beneath the altar of his church which he had originally reserved for himself. Paulinus also imported many holy relics which he placed beneath the altar of his new apostles church at Nola.[3]

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[1] F. Dartein, Étude sur l'Architecture Lombarde, Paris, 1865-82, p. 103f; A. Calderini, "Le Basiliche dell'Età Ambrosiana in Milano," in Ambrosiana, Milan, 1942, p. 151.

[2] This more exact East-West axis is also shared by the old choir, the pulpit, and the chapel of S. Vittore (S. Satiro) next door (see Ibid.).

[3] See Paulinus, Carmen 27, ll. 395-439 (Goldschmidt, pp. 54-57).

But, although both these basilicas were not constructed on the exact site of a venerated tomb, they stand, not inside a city but in a cemeterial area where important martyrs were buried and where several smaller churches and grave chapels already existed. The basilica Ambrosiana was situated in a cemetery, outside the walls of Milan, which Ambrose himself called *ad martyres*.[1] Thus, it could have served large crowds for funerary services, as did Paulinus's churches and the large basilicas at Rome, such as S. Agnese, S. Lorenzo, S. Sebastiano, etc., may have done after the banquets took place. It would thus be difficult to maintain with Wieland that S. Ambrogio was not a martyr's basilica or a *memoria*.[2] The canopy inside could still have honored the tombs placed beneath it and perhaps others located near-by,[3] as well as the altar which the services for the dead in the cemetery required. The altar at this time, with the elimination of the refrigeria, became the focal point of the service for the martyrs, and its presence inside a cemeterial church must have played a more conspicuous role than previously.

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[1] *Ibid*., p. 139 and n. 14. See also map of Milan on p. 155.

[2] Wieland, *Altar u. Altargrab*, p. 138. Wieland means specifically that the church was not originally founded around a martyr's grave. It, nevertheless, is a kind of *memoria*.

[3] The chapel of S. Vittore next to S. Ambrogio contained the remains not only of S. Vittore, but also of Satiro, the brother of St. Ambrose. See Calderini, "Basiliche dell'età Ambrosiana," p. 150.

3. Canopies from the Reign of Symmachus to Gregory the Great
(498-604)

In the late 5th and 6th centuries canopies appeared in a memorial chapel at St. Peter's and inside the city of Rome at regular cult churches. At S. Andrea at the Vatican and at S. Martino (ai Monti) within the city, the canopies probably covered an altar containing a "confessio." The "confessio" may have been simply a reliquary recess within a box or block-shaped altar which probably held "brandea" or ampouls obtained from the actual tombs of the two saints to whom the altars were dedicated: S. Andrew's at Constantinople and St. Martin's at Tours. At the titulus church of S. Clemente, however, there is no evidence of a confessio. A canopy, if it existed there, may have sheltered nothing more than the altar.

Thus, an altar canopy, appearing in a city church at Rome, would seem to have been the outcome of a number of developments and associations outlined in the previous chapters, which may be summed up briefly as follows: 1) Venerated tombs were marked by canopies in the era of Constantine. 2) The concentration on the Mass as the one appropriate celebration for the feasts of the saints and martyrs in the late 4th century and after gives added importance to the presence of an altar at venerated tombs. Thus, a permanent altar is sometimes constructed around or above the martyrs' tombs, and a canopy may shelter both the tomb and the altar. 3) In the 6th century at Rome canopies move away from the actual site of venerated tombs in catacombs and graveyards and are introduced into regular churches in the city. There the altar, which might contain a *confessio*, was dedicated to a martyr whose actual relics were not present but whose protection[1] may have been evoked through the presence of ampouls or *brandea* imported from his tomb. Thus, the canopy, associated first with venerated tombs in *memoria* or catacomb churches, became later associated with the altar which contained momentos from the martyr's tomb and which celebrated his feast in other parts of the Christian world. The situation at S. Clemente may go a step further: an altar of a regular cult church, which at that time contained no actual relic of St. Clement and may not have even possessed _brandea_ but was dedicated by tradition to St. Clement, was also sheltered by a canopy. The situation at St. Peter's was altered also under Gregory the Great, probably as Ward Perkins suggests,[1] to bring the complex up to date. A permanent altar was constructed directly over the tomb of the apostle and both were sheltered by a silver canopy. Thus, the altar canopy seems to have developed as a result of the transplantation of forms from _memoria_ and catacomb churches and chapels to city and regular cult churches in the 5th and 6th centuries.

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[1] The word was used in the inscription at S. Andrea at the Vatican. See p. 168 above.

An intermediary stage of this development may be represented at SS. Simplicius, Faustinus, and Viatrix at Rome in the late 4th century, where the altar on which Mass was celebrated for the _Natale_ of the three martyrs was surmounted by a canopy and both were separated by a short distance from the martyrs' tomb. This affords a kind of precedent for the complete separation of the altar and canopy from the site of the saint's tomb. Sacred articles from the tomb of the saint would provide the only remaining link with the actual tomb.

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[1] Ward Perkins, _The Shrine of St. Peter_, pp. 215-16.

The situation at S. Ambrogio in Milan also offers some precedent for the development that followed at Rome in the 8th and 9th centuries. St. Ambrose, after he had found the remains of two martyrs, had moved them so they could be placed beneath the altar and canopy of his own cemeterial church. During the 8th and 9th centuries at Rome the popes transplanted the relics of many Roman martyrs from the catacombs to large memoriae like St. Peter's or to city churches and placed them beneath altars which were often surmounted by canopies.[1] Such canopies became

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[1] Some examples from Duchesne, L.P., II, are:

(1) Leo III made a canopy of silver with porphyry columns over the altar of S. Petronilla at the Vatican. Her body had been translated from the Catacomb of Domitilla in the late 8th century (See p. 170 above) (p.16).

(2) When the remains of S. Caecilia (and others) were translated to the titulus church in her name in Trastevere by Paschal I (817-24) (See Krautheimer, Corpus, I, p. 96), the same pope put up a ciborium mire magnitudinis ex argento, pens. lib. DC over the altar and confession of the church (L.P., II, p. 57).

(3) When Leo IIII (847-55) moved many holy relics to the church of SS. Quattuor Coronati, he placed them beneath the altar and built over them a magnificent ciburium of pure silver with gems (pp. 115 - 116).

Also, the cyburium ex argento, pens. lib. CCXV which Leo III (795-816) gave to the titulus church of SS. Nereus and Achilleus, along with other constructions and decorations, could have honored the translation of the relics of the two martyrs to their titulus church. Although the date of the translation remains unknown, it is possible that increasingly more numerous in Roman churches during this time according to the records of the *Liber Pontificalis*.[1]

Yet another custom followed by St. Ambrose, Paulinus of Nola and others may have had a bearing on the development outlined above at Rome. Already in the 4th century the bodies of apostles had been moved to the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople.[2] Rome, however, did not need such transplantations, for the princes of the apostles, along with many martyrs, were actually buried there. Thus, St. Ambrose, in moving the holy relics of SS. Gervasius and Protasius to S. Ambrogio or those of S. Nazarius into his apostles church,[3] was

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that they were moved from the basilica at the Catacomb of Domitilla after the body of S. Petronilla had been taken to St. Peter's (p. 33). See also Duchesne, *L.P.*, I, p. 464 for the translation of relics from the catacombs including the remains of Petronilla (after barbarian devastation) under Paul I (757-67).

[1] It should be noted that canopies were constructed in both cemeterial (S. Pancratio, for example, under Honorius (625-28), Duchesne, *L.P.*, I, p. 324) and titulus churches (as at S. Crisogono, *Ibid*., p. 418 between 731-41 under Gregory III or at S. Marco under John VI (701-705), *Ibid*., p. 383) at Rome in the 7th and 8th centuries. See word *cyburium* in index of Latin words, *Ibid*., III, p. 202.

[2] This was accomplished in 356-57 under Constantius I, according to the *Chronicon Paschale* of St. Jerome (see Migne, *P.L.*, 27, 687-90). St. Jerome also mentions this translation in *Contra Vigilantium*, #5 in *Ibid*., 23, 358.

[3] See Paulinus of Nola, *Vita S. Ambrosii*, c 32 in

acting in accord with customs used in great ecclesiastical centers, if not at Rome itself. But Ambrose and also Paulinus obtained smaller relics of the apostles which were placed respectively within the apostles' churches at Milan and Nola.[1] Ambrose may also have unsuccessfully sought relics of Peter and Paul for his church and may have used instead *brandea* sent from Rome by Pope Damasus as a kind of "relic." Many small bits of cloth found within the late 4th century silver reliquary box of his church indicate this.[2] One wonders if the custom of using *brandea* as a kind of "relic" from venerated tombs was

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Migne, *P.L.*, 14, 38. See c. 33 (*Ibid.*) on the translation of the relics of S. Celsum to the Basilica Apostolorum also.

[1] For the passage outlining the relics of Paulinus in the Apostles Church, see n. 3, p. 228 above. For Milan, the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* (9th of May) records:

> Mediolano de ingressu reliquiarum apostolorum Iohannis, Andreae, et Thomae in basilica ad Portam Romanam.

See also Paulinus of Nola, *Vita S. Ambrosii*, in Migne, *P.L.*, 14, 38. My thanks to Suzanne Edwards for pointing out these sources. See also Calderini, "Basiliche dell'età Ambrosiana," pp. 148-49 and P. Zovatto in *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana*, 1958, p. 149 and *idem.*, "L'Urnetta Argentea di S. Ambrogio nell'Ambito della 'Rinascenza Teodosiana'," in *Critica d'Arte*, 13-14, 1956, pp. 2-3. (This reliquary box is illustrated and discussed by Volbach, *Frühchr. Kunst*, figs. 110-115, pp. 23 & 65).

[2] See Zovatto, "L'Urnetta Argentea di S. Ambrogio," esp. p. 12, n. 5.

initiated in the 2nd half of the 4th century. A _fenestella_ opening into a shaft, the _cataracta_, which led to the martyr's body at a venerated tomb was necessary in order that such _brandea_ could be consecrated and therefore become meaningful.[1] By the late 4th century there is evidence of the presence of a _fenestella_ at the tomb of the apostle Paul[2] and, in the early 5th century, at the altar surmounting the tomb of Alexander and Eventius.[3] A shaft behind the grave of St. Agnes (see fig. 29, E) might have served the same purpose. Thus, _brandea_ from Rome must have been available from the second half of the 4th century on. But it seems as if _brandea_ from venerated tombs elsewhere in the Christian world may not have been used for dedications at Rome until the second half of the 5th century. In the 6th century, too, the custom of obtaining ampouls containing oil from the lamps burning at venerated tombs or places also seems to be prevalent and may perhaps substitute also for brandea or relics.[1]

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[1] See Hertling and Kirschbaum, _Roman Catacombs_ . . ., pp. 49-50 for a discussion of this custom.

[2] See Wieland, _Altar u. Altargrab_, p. 110; Styger, _Roem. Martyrgr._, I, p. 70; G. Belvederi, "L'Origine della Basilica Ostiense," in _Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana_, 1946, p. 103f.

[3] See fig. 20.

Most of the canopies cited above had four columns, although there are some exceptions: the Holy Sepulchre had six; the shrine of St. Felix at Nola had twelve. If the "arcos argenteos," which were introduced with the entries of teguria donated by Symmachus, do belong to these canopies as would seem feasible,[2] then the canopy at S. Martino may have been supported by twelve columns also. In some cases, as at S. Alessandro and possibly at S. Silvestro and S. Andrea at the Vatican, the four supports of the canopy may have risen from the four corners of an altar.[1] The kinds of roofs these canopies had are mostly unknown. The shrine of St. Peter and possibly that of St. Laurence and others seem to have been constructed with an open cross-vault. The Holy Sepulchre and another canopy represented on the Pola Casket contained a pointed roof with rounded gables rising above architraves between each of the columns.

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[1] Oil from a lamp over the grave may have been taken from the shrine of St. Menas in Egypt for healing purposes in the late 4th century and on (see Ward Perkins, "The Shrine of St. Menas," p. 32). Gregory of Tours also describes the custom of taking oil in ampouls from the tomb of St. Martin at Tours (see p. 173 above). A document from the time of Gregory the Great, the papyrus of Monza, tells of a priest John who came to Rome from Theolinda, Queen of the Lombards, to obtain relics. Unable to get these, he brought back oil from the lamps burning at the tombs of the martyrs (see Valentine & Zuchetti, Codice Topografico . . ., Vol. II, p. 29f). The ampouls from the holy sites in Jerusalem also probably date from the 6th century (see Part I, p. 37f above).

[2] See discussion of this by de Rossi, Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana, 1877, pp. 99-100. He cites the L.P. passage where Hilarus (461-68) gave a 4 lb. arcum aureum, supported by onyx columns, to be placed over the confession of the Oratory of the Holy Cross at the Lateran. A 2 lb. golden lamb stood under the arch. (Duchesne, L.P., I, p. 242). He also cites a passage of Gregory III (731-41) who gave a ciborium de argento seu arcus quinque pensantes in unam libras CCX to S. Crisogono. (Ibid., p. 418)

Most of the canopies discussed were either of precious metals or of stone or both. They were either recorded because of their value or survived because of their durability. An entry in the _Liber Pontificalis_ under Sergius (687-701), however, reminds us that many other canopies may have existed that have been lost and were made of less precious or less durable materials: _Hic cyburium basilice sancte Susannae quod ante lignum_

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[1] This may have been the form of canopy over an altar and martyr's grave at Clermont in France, according to Gregory of Tours's account (_De Gloria Martyrum_, cap. _LXV_ (in Migne, _P.L._, 71, cols. 763-64). He writes about the church of Antolianus, constructed probably in the early 6th century outside the city in a Christian cemetery (See Cabrol-Leclercq, _DACL_, T. 3, pt. 2, col. 1921):

fuerat, ex marmore fecit.[1] The wooden canopy may not even date before the 7th century, but there may have been numerous other wooden canopies in Roman churches in the 5th and 6th centuries.

At Ravenna there is evidence that prior to the middle of the 6th century a wooden canopy stood in the basilica Ursiana. It was replaced under Bishop Victor (c. 540-546) by one of silver according to the *Liber Pontificalis* of the city of Ravenna. The text reads:

> Fecit autem ciborium de argento super altarium S. ecclesiae Ursianae . . . miro opere . . . in ipso anno [c. 545] beato Victor largivit, quem cum accepisset construxit, ut cernitis opus, quod dehinc sublato ligneo vetusto, centies viginti librarum argenti justo pondere structum est. Et super arces ciborii versus conscripti hi sunt:
>
> Hoc votum Christo solvit cum plebe sacerdos
>   Victor qui populis auxit amore fidem
> Pontifici Christo solventi vota ministrat
>   aligerum cingens haec loca sancta manus
> Egregium miratur opus sublata vetustas
>   quae melior cultu nobiliore redit
> Catholicae legis venit . . . si quis amator
>   Mox reparatus abit corpore christe tuo.[2]

Erectis tamen parietibus super altare aedis illius, turrem ac columnis, pharis, heracliisque transvolutis arcubus erexerunt, miram camerae fucorum diversitatibus imaginatam adhilientes picturam.

[1] *Ibid*., p. 375.

[2] *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum*, saec, III-IX, Hannoverae, 1878, p. 324.

The basilica Ursiana was a construction belonging to the reign of Bishop Ursus,[1] from the early years of the 5th century. It was the cathedral church of Ravenna[2] located inside the city. However, the wooden canopy mentioned above would not need to be as old as the church to be termed "old." Since the new silver canopy covered the altar of the church and replaced the old wooden structure, it can be surmised that the wooden canopy also had sheltered the altar of the church for some time before 545 A.D.

The altar of this church may have been located at a mid-point in the center of the nave according to drawings of Buonamici who recorded the state of the church before he rebuilt it in the early 18th century. It is not clear, however, if this was the church's original plan.[3] According to the Liber Pontificalis of Ravenna under the Vita S. Ursi the church was finished at Easter time and dedicated to and called the Anastasis, after the place of Christ's Resurrection. The altar is also called S. Anastasiae in the text.[1]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 288-89. There is some controversy over the dates of the reign of Ursus. Some (Ibid., p. 289; Smith, The Dome, p. 142) ascribe his reign to the years ca. 370's- 396, while others (L. Muratori, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, Mediolani, 1723, II, 15-16; G. Bovini, Ravenna, Arnaud, Florence, 1956, p. 50) place it in the early years of the 5th century (ca. 400-420).

[2] Scriptores Rer. Langobard., p. 289: hanc civitatem Ravennam Sanctam Catholicam Ecclesiam.

[3] See articles by A. Testi Rasponi, "Note Agnelliare- La Basilica Ursiana," in Felix Ravenna, 1914, pp.

We are therefore confronted with a situation that seems to be different from the one we have studied at Rome. The altar of this church seems not to have possessed

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537-41; C. Ricci, "L'Antico Duomo di Ravenna," in Felix Ravenna, 1931, pp. 7-28; and G. Bovini, "Qualche appunto sull'antica Cattedrale di Ravenna," in Felix Ravenna, 1953, p. 59f. Reconstructions are based on Gianfrancesco Buonamici plans (in G. Amadesi, Metropolitana di Ravenna, Parte Prima, Bologna, 1748, Tav. A). Many reconstructions, of course, took place between the 5th and 18th centuries. However, the L.P. of Ravenna (Script. Rer. Langobard., p. 289) does indicate that in the time of Ursus the altar may have stood next to (iuxta) the parte mulierum, which is one of the side aisles. See note below for text.

[1] Ibid:

> . . . finivit in die sanctae resurrectionis. Et in tali vero die ab eo dedicata est ipsa ecclesia et vocata Anastasis.

Entered before this in an account of the workmen who decorated this church is a sentence describing the adornment which Cuferius and Paul made on one wall in the "parte mulierum, iuxta altarium sanctae Anastasiae." (It should be noted that this altar has been interpreted as a side altar dedicated to S. Anastasia, rather than the main altar of the church. See Smith, The Dome, p. 143.) The wall mentioned would seem to be the wall above the nave arcade on the women's side of the church, for the following sentence in the text reads:

> Ipsa est partes, ubi columnae sunt positae in ordine usque ad numerum de positis majorem.

Then the text speaks of decoration on the opposite wall of the nave (altam vero parietem parte virorum . . . .)

relics but belonged to the Bishop of Ravenna inside the city. It is true that Bishop Ursus was buried on a spot "before" the altar of his cathedral where he had stood to say Mass:

> Sepultusque in jam dicta Ecclesia Ursiana, quae est Anastasis, ante altare subtus porphyreticum lapidem, ubi Pontifex stat quandum missam canit.[1]

Although similar, this would seem to stand in contrast to the burial place of St. Ambrose which was on the left side of the spot directly beneath the altar of S. Ambrogio (see fig. 48,A). But the altar itself seems to have remained the chief object of veneration beneath the canopy, according to the later entry under Bishop Ursus in the *Liber Pontificalis* of Ravenna. The association of this church and its altar to the *Anastasis* may provide a clue to the purpose and meaning of the canopy erected over this altar. This subject will be discussed in Part III of this study.

The silver canopy which Victor gave may have survived until 1512.[2] According to a later description,[3] it had columns of porphyry and ophiticis which supported a silver roof above, perhaps incorporating the 120 lbs. of silver which Victor had used to construct the canopy, a weight analogous to the silver used by Symmachus for teguria at Rome.[1] This canopy probably had four columns with arches rising above them on each side of the structure. Upon these arches would have been inscribed the verses quoted above, two lines on each side. According to the verses, Victor presented this offering as a result of the restoration of orthodox Catholic rule ca. 540, after the expulsion of the Arian Goths.[2]

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[1] *Scriptores Rer. Langobard*;, p. 289.

[2] See Bovini, *Felix Ravenna*, 1953, p. 65.

[3] After Ambrogio Traversari had travelled to Ravenna in 1433, he wrote in a letter describing his visit this

There are also two sets of four columns from two other churches at Ravenna which may have belonged in the 6th c. to altar canopies also. In both cases the columns were dismantled from altar ciboria in later times. At S. Apollinare Nuovo the four columns (fig.49) were re-used for an altar ciborium in a side chapel[3] until recently when they were

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accounts of the canopy: "Ciborium tegit argenteum itidem, columnis porphyreticis & ophiticis sustentatum." (Hodoeporicon, Florence, 1681.)

[1] See pp. 164 + 170 above.

[2] See Bovini, Felix Ravenna, 1953, p. 65.

[3] See Cabrol & Leclercq, DACL, art. "Ciborium," III, pt. 2, 1604. The height of columns varies slightly, but this discrepancy has been adjusted through the use of column bases of varying heights.

again assembled around the main altar of the church (fig. 50). However, the original disposition of the columns remains uncertain.

S. Apollinare Nuovo seems to have been originally a regular cult church dedicated to the Saviour and associated with the royal palace of the Gothic king, Theodoric, who was an Arian. But after the expulsion of the Goths from Ravenna, the church was rededicated under orthodox jurisdiction sometime after the middle of the 6th century to St. Martin of Tours under the reign of Bishop Agnellus (553-66).[1] The columns in question, because the style of carving on their capitals indicates a date during the reign of Justinian,[2] were probably introduced at this time and could have been used as part of an altar canopy.

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[1] Scriptores Rer. Langobard., pp. 334-35:

> Igitur reconciliavit beatissimus Agnellus pontifex infra hanc urbem ecclesiam sancti Martini confessoris, quam Theodoricus rex fundavit,

The nave mosaics of the processions of martyrs and virgins were added at this time (*Ibid*., p. 335). See Bovini, *Ravenna* (Arnaud) pp. 88-89. Justinian turned all Arian real estate over to the Catholics after 554 A.D.

[2] C. Cecchelli, "La Decorazione Paleocristiana e dell'alto Medioevo nelle Chiese d'Italia," in *Atti del IV Congresso di Archeologia Cristiana*, II (*Studi di Antichità Cristiana* XIX), p. 165, where he characterizes the two rear columns as an "Egyptian" type. See also Bovini, *Ravenna* (Arnaud), p. 91.

Bishop Victor had given an elaborate canopy to the Basilica Ursicana probably to celebrate the return of orthodox catholic rule. It seems possible that when S. Apollinare Nuovo (or St. Martin's) was rededicated, it, too, could have been given an altar canopy supported by these four columns.

A canopy, if it existed at this church in the 6th century, would probably have sheltered the altar still present in the church which seems also to date from the 6th century.[1] This altar contains a recess in the central support in which are separate holes or indentations, possibly for containers of relics or brandea or ampouls from the tombs of St. Martin and other martyrs.[2] The many martyrs and saints which were introduced into the mosaic decorations at the time of the rededication indicate that the veneration of these martyrs was of importance in this church. A canopy placed above this altar, then, would appear to be closer to the development that has been traced at Rome, where canopies in city churches stood over altars possibly containing brandea or ampouls from the tomb of the martyr to whom it was dedicated. However, still another possible use for the indentations in the altar recess will be suggested in Part III of this study.

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[1] *Ibid*.

[2] Bovini, *Ibid*., p. 89, suggests that the church was rededicated to St. Martin because he was a crusader against heretics.

The four columns at S. Apollinare Nuovo (St. Martin's), however, could have been combined in still another way to form not a canopy but a pergola. There is evidence that pergolas existed in chapels in Northern Italy from the late 5th or early 6th century. At both Padua[1] (fig. 52) and Vicenza[2] structures containing four columns, two on each side of a central entrance space, stood above chancel railings and screened off the apse from the rest of the chapel. An architrave, resting on the four columns, ran across the whole front of the apse, rising into a horseshoe-shaped arch over the central entrance space. The inscription on the architrave at Padua mentions many relics of saints, apostles, and martyrs that were present there and were probably contained within an altar behind the screen in the apse.[3] P. Zovatto[4] has related these structures to the so-called fastigium forms, such as that in Diocletian's palace at Spalato or the form surrounding Theodosius and his sons on the famous Missorium (fig. 13), both of which have been mentioned in relation to the Lateran fastigium.

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[1] P. Zovatto, "La Pergula Paleocristiana del Sacello di S. Prosdocimo di Padova," in Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana, XXXIV, 1958, pp. 137-58, figs. 5 & 6.

[2] Ibid., p. 144, fig. 4.

[3] Ibid., pp. 149-50. The many "relics" in this case may include brandea.

[4] Ibid., p. 150f.

At S. Apollinare Nuovo there are chancel screens surviving,[1] as well as the four columns, which would make the reconstruction of a pergola composition possible. In fact, the many fragments found in Roman cemeterial churches or at S. Clemente of chancel screens or columns might also suggest a similar reconstruction. But there is no evidence in Italy before the late 5th century and none at Rome at this time to suggest that pergolas might have existed there. The form closest to it might have been the Lateran fastigium, a large and monumental structure that, we have suggested, may have had a far different purpose. On the other hand there is concrete evidence of canopy structures existing at Rome, indicating that these forms were perhaps more likely to be used especially in a martyr's chapel. At Ravenna, too, a canopy stood within the cathedral and possibly at S. Vitale, as we shall see below. Therefore, it seems more likely that St. Martin's (S. Apollinare Nuovo) may also have contained an altar canopy in the 6th century.[1]

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[1] See Volbach, Frühchristliche Kunst, fig. 181 (top) and p. 79. See also Bovini, Ravenna (Arnaud), p. 90.

At S. Vitale four columns, which before 1585 had supported a canopy over the main altar of the church, were placed against the wall of the sanctuary in the late 16th century.[2] They still occupy this position today (see fig. 51). Three of them are of verde antico, and the fourth is of a rare greenish marble, a breccia.[3] In some respects the capitals resemble two of the "Egyptian-type" capitals that may have belonged to a canopy at S. Apollinare Nuovo (fig. 49).[4] Before the canopy at S.

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[1] The pergolas from Northern Italy also decorated small, cruciform-shaped chapels, not large basilicas like S. Apollinare Nuovo.

[2] C. Ricci, "Chiesa di S. Vitale in Ravenna: L'Altar Maggiore e l'Altare del Santo," in *Felix Ravenna*, 1913, p. 475.

[3] *Ibid*., p. 472; R. Bartoccini, "Restauri in S. Vitale à Ravenna, II. Il Tempio," in *Felix Ravenna*, 1932, p. 155. The breccia column (visible on the extreme left in fig. 46) is about 2 inches shorter than the other three columns and therefore has a higher base. It is possible that the rare breccia column, which Bartoccini calls Egyptian, served as a model for the other three.

[4] For the associations of the two rear columns of the canopy at S. Apollinare Nuovo with the Egyptian and Alexandrian schools, see n. 2, p. 243 above. If the columns at S. Vitale did belong to the period of the original

Vitale was destroyed, it was described in 16th century accounts as "pyramidal" and supported by four columns.[1] C. Ricci also cites a fragment of an arcade, decorated with a cross resting on an orb, which is now in the museum next to S. Vitale. This, he feels, once might have belonged to the canopy over the main altar.[2] However, there are numerous other shrines and chapels at S. Vitale, making it difficult to connect the fragment to any one monument.

In fact, S. Vitale itself seems to have been a kind of _martyrium_ which contained not only the relics of S. Vitale but of other martyrs also, as well as the remains of local bishops.[3] These relics were placed in side

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construction of the church, then they might have pre-dated those at S. Apollinare Nuovo.

[1] Ricci, _Felix Ravenna_, 1913, p. 472 and 474-75. He cites the _Peregrino_ of Jacopo Caviceo (Parma, 1508, c. 158r) who describes the canopy "con la regale pyramide."

[2] Ricci, _Felix Ravenna_, 1913, pp. 474-75.

[3] The _L.P._ of Ravenna describes the foundation of the church under the _Vita_ of S. Ecclesius (c. 524-34). The verses which he placed in front of the church speak of: _Gervasiusque tenet simul hanc Prothasius arcem_ (_Script. Rer. Langob_., p. 321). Other chapels in the church were dedicated to Nazarius and Celsus (see H. Delehaye, "Hagiographie Ancienne de Ravenna" in _Analecta Bollandiana_, 47, 1929, p. 7). Ecclesius himself was buried at S. Vitale "ante altarium in medio loco iuxta corpus hinc beati Ursicini antistitis et inde beati Victoris, in medio autem iste." (_Script. Rer. Langob_., p. 318)

chapels or else within the semi-circular, niche-like forms that opened through columns into the aisles of the church from the central area. Within one of these open "niches" near the entrance to the church the body of S. Vitale himself was supposed to have been buried. Excavations beneath this area have revealed parts of an earlier 5th century chapel placed around an altar base.[1] It would appear that before the church of S. Vitale was built, this area may have contained tombs or simply small memorial chapels, perhaps containing relics. When the church was constructed in the 6th century on the site of this chapel, it could have been planned so that its main altar stood directly above the altar of S. Vitale. But this was not the case. Unlike the situation in martyrs' churches at Rome, the main altar seems to have contained no relics at all, but remained a separate element detached from the martyr's shrines in the church. Perhaps these shrines may also have contained altars for each of the martyrs represented there.[2] Thus, a canopy at S. Vitale, if it existed there in the 6th century, as at the basilica Ursiana, would have surmounted an altar alone, even though the church in this case seems to have been primarily a martyr's church.[1]

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[1] G. Gerola, "Il Sacello primitivo di S. Vitale," in Felix Ravenna, 1913, pp. 427-432 and 459-70. The excavations are described in Part II of this article. See Tav. 28 and 29.

[2] Since an altar stood within a shrine to S. Vitale on this spot in the 5th century, it might have been retained

But S. Vitale had roots elsewhere than in Roman churches. From the nature of its plan to the details of carving on capitals and architectural members, it obviously was derived from the building activity of Justinian and his court, who are portrayed in the mosaics in the presbytery. It seems significant that inside S. Sophia at Constantinople Justinian had erected over the main altar of the church a silver ciborium with a pointed roof rising from an octagonal base which rested on 4 arcades supported by four columns.[2] Although many centuries intervene between the age of Justinian and the descriptions of the canopy at S. Vitale, one wonders if any relationship could possibly exist between canopies, like that described above, from the buildings of Justinian, and the canopy with a

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in the original church of the 6th century. An altar also stood over the shrine of S. Vitale on this spot in the 16th century according to several descriptions. See Ibid., p. 429f.

[1] See K. Wessel, "San Vitale in Ravenna," in Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte, 22, 1959, p. 201f.

[2] Paul the Silentiary describes the canopy at S. Sophia in his Descriptio S. Sophiae (in Migne, P.G., 86, 2147-48). See also Cabrol & Leclercq, DACL, art. "Ciborium," III, pt. 2, 1604.

"pyramidal" roof resting on four columns at S. Vitale. However, one can only say that an altar canopy at S. Vitale, appearing in a building inspired by architectural forms from the buildings of Justinian, would seem to have been possible and appropriate there.

It therefore appears that a tradition different from the one at Rome was at work in Ravenna in the 5th and 6th centuries. This tradition involved the separation of the altar, sheltered by a canopy, from the relics of martyrs, which seem to have been deposited at other points in the church, or from the remains of local bishops, who were buried near or before the altar but not beneath it.[1] The arrangement at S. Apollinare Nuovo (St. Martin's) seems closer to the Roman tradition where the altar, containing what appears to be reliquary recesses, may have been surmounted by a canopy. But the canopies at the basilica Ursiana and the one at S. Vitale, if there was one, seem to emerge out of another tradition, one that may depend on Eastern sources and ideas. The significance of this tradition will be suggested in Part III and contrasted with the tradition at Rome itself.

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[1] See L.P. of Ravenna (Script. Rer Langob.), p. 289, #23 (Ursus); p. 293, #29 (Neo); p. 297, #33 (Exuperantius); etc.

From the Liber Pontificalis of the city of Naples, an entry from the reign of Vincentius (between ca. 550-560) mentions a gift of a silver canopy, (cyburi) containing four silver arches and a lamp (fara), placed over the altar of a church "named for" St. John the Baptist (ad nomen beatissimi praecursoris Iohannis baptistae).[1] It sounds from this text as though this canopy, too, was made primarily to shelter an altar, although one cannot be sure that the phrase "ad nomen . . . Iohannae baptistae" means that no relic was present but that the church was simply dedicated in his name.

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[1] Gesta Episcoporum Neapolitanorum in Script. Rer. Langob., pp. 411-12:

> Hic fecit praefulgidam basilicam ad nomen Iohannis baptistae . . . . Fecit et altare, quem cum columnis et cyburi desuper investivit argento. Fecit fara argentea et arcus quattuor investitis argento.

Chapter Two

FOUNTAIN AND FONT CANOPIES IN ITALY

1. Fountain Canopies

Toward the end of the 4th century, perhaps by the 380's, at Rome, a fountain covered by a canopy stood in the atrium of St. Peter's basilica. Hilarus also constructed a fountain that was probably sheltered by a canopy in the second half of the 5th century in a courtyard before the Oratory of the Holy Cross next to the Lateran Baptistery. This structure sounds larger and more elaborate than the square structure resting on four columns and surmounted by a bronze cross-vault that stood over the cantharus at St. Peter's.

Paulinus of Nola has left the most explicit description of the St. Peter's fountain. In addition, he has described fountains that stood in the courtyard between the basilica of St. Felix at Nola and the new apostles church (N to the right on fig. 45). These fountains were a part of the new complex of constructions which Paulinus put up between 390-403 A.D. The largest fountain, probably located in the center of the courtyard, was covered by a "bronze tower" and contained chancel screening:

> cuius in exposito praelucens cantharus exstat
> quem cancellato tegit aerea culmine turris.[1]

The fountain, then, was probably in the shape of a large basin,[2] from which water may have "welled up" (salientes)[3] and then was caught again in the basin below. The bronze (or copper) roof over this basin was probably either in the form of a cross-vault as at St. Peter's or a pyramidal tower rising to a point. There were several smaller "basins" (vasa) which stood about the courtyard also and seem to have occupied most of its remaining space. These, according to Paulinus, stood "under the open sky."[4] The central cantharus, then, must have been the only one to be covered by a "tower." It served the same purpose, of washing the hands of those entering the sacred buildings, as the cantharus at St. Peter's.[1] One wonders if the form and position of the central cantharus at Nola might have been inspired by what Paulinus had seen at, or else heard of, the cantharus in the atrium at St. Peter's basilica in Rome, which he described to Pammachius in the year 397. The St. Peter's cantharus was probably in existence before Paulinus built his fountains.

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[1] Goldschmidt, Paulinus's Churches at Nola, pp. 72-75 from Carmen 28, ll. 31-32.

[2] See p. 154 above.

[3] Goldschmidt, pp. 74/75, l. 49.

[4] Ibid., l. 33. The five rows of basins in the courtyard left little room for walking (ll.41-43). These fountains were supplied by cisterns which collected rain water. See Carmen 27, ll. 463-79 in Ibid., pp. 48/49.

However, fountains placed in courtyards outside pagan sanctuaries had been known in Roman architecture before this time. In an inscription of 191 A.D. a tetrastylum nymphaeum, which was constructed with a "crater with columns and other small columns" (crateram cum columella . . . et aliam columellam), was donated to a sanctuary of Jupiter Dolichenus on the Esquiline hill.[2] This has been interpreted to be either a large canopy carried with four columns or a small canopy surmounting the basin of the fountain.[3] The latter possibility seems more feasible because of the use of the word columella in the text, which indicates "small columns." P. Merlat feels that the structure was outside the sanctuary itself and was used for rites of purification in the cult. He cites a similar arrangement in a sanctuary of Jupiter Dolichenus on the Aventine hill.[1]

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[1] See Ep. 32, #15 in Ibid., pp. 42/43. See also Goldschmidt's discussion of the Cantharus on pp. 114-115.

[2] P. Merlat, Répetoire des Inscriptions et Monuments figurés du Culte de Jupiter Dolichenus, Rennes, 1951, p. 213. I am grateful to Norman Neuerburg for sending me references to this monument.

[3] Ibid., p. 216.

Thus, fountains surmounted by canopies had been associated with pagan cults at Rome, but we cannot be sure of the exact form of these structures. However, at Ostia, remains of a street fountain whose waters were shaded by a small canopy, formed with a barrel vault and supported by four colonnettes that rested on the rectangular tank below, are still in existence.[2] The water was available through two metal pipes in the side of the rectangular bowl. The canopy simply shaded and protected the water in the tank below.

A small canopy, standing over a square fountain basin, is also visible on a relief on one of the two front columns of the ciborium at S. Marco in Venice. The original disposition and provenance of the two front columns, which probably belong to the 5th or 6th century, are unknown.[1] The scene in question occupies the third band from the top of the left front column. In the scene just before this on the same band, Christ bends to the ground to make clay with his spittle with which to heal the eyes of a blind man holding a stick.[2] In the following scene (fig. 53), Christ shows the same blind man the fountain or well, presumably of Siloam,[3] in which he must wash his eyes in order to receive his sight. This second episode is set against an arcade of 3 bays, the fountain occupying the central space. A lion head seems to emit water into a vase standing beside the square basin, which the small canopy shades. This type of fountain is reminiscent of the street fountain at Ostia. The small canopy over the fountain could also be of the same type as the structures on the Aventine and Esquiline hills for the cult of Jupiter Dolichemus.

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[1] Ibid., p. 217.

[2] See G. Calza, Ostia, historical guide to the monuments, Rome, 1926, p. 106. The fountain stands along the Via della Fontana, Reg. II, Ins. VI.

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[1] The two rear columns were carved later, perhaps in the 11th or 13th century (?), to imitate the two front columns and complete a set of four columns for a ciborium, See E. Wiegand, "Zur Datierung der Ciboriumssäule von S. Marko in Venedig," in *Atti V Congresso Internazionale Studi Bizant*., Roma, 1936, pp. 450-51; C. R. Morey, *Early Christian Art*, Princeton, 1953, pp. 105-06; Cabrol & Leclercq, *DACL*, art. "Ciborium," III, pt. 2, col. 1601-02.

[2] The subject matter on the columns is outlined in *Ibid*., 1603. More recently, see J. Lafontaine, "Iconagraphie de la Colonne A du ciborium de Saint-Marc à Venise" in *Actes du XII Congr. Int. d'Études Byz*., 1961 pp. 213-19.

[3] See *John* 9: 6-7. The essentials of this scene are discussed in P. Singelenberg, "The Iconography of the Etschmiadzin Diptych and the Healing of the Blind Man of Siloe," in *Art Bulletin*, 40, 1958, pp. 105-112. The scene on the S. Marco column offers an early example of the "Group II" setting for the episode (p. 110).

But the type of canopy that sheltered the cantharus at St. Peter's is different. It is larger and more elaborate architecturally, employing a cross-vault and rounded gables on its four sides. These very forms, however, may prove to be a clue which relates this fountain and its canopy to another Christian tradition. Paulinus outlined a mystical meaning of the forms used for the Vatican fountain, and this may also prove decisive in interpreting its full significance, as well as the significance of the decorations around the fountain at the Oratory of the Holy Cross at the Lateran. This mystical symbolism will be explored in Part III.

2. Baptistery Canopies

There are examples of canopies which cover baptismal fonts in both Northern and Southern Italy in the 6th century. But there is no certain evidence at Rome of a canopy covering a baptismal font at this time or earlier. In Part II, chapter 1 the possibility has been discussed that one of the short sides of the Pola Casket might represent an octagonal canopy of silver over the font in the Lateran Baptistery in the second half of the 4th century. But the conclusions left many loose ends regarding both the casket and its dating. The reconstruction of the baptistery under Sixtus (432-440) created a canopy-like arrangement of eight columns supporting architraves, which contained verses around the font.[1] However, the columns actually supported the cupola of the building rather than a canopy. The *Liber Pontificalis* also records that Sixtus made a baptismal font at S. Maria Maggiore and ornamented it with porphyry columns.[2] Although little is known of this font,[1] one cannot help but wonder if the porphyry columns might have been used to support a canopy over it, since many such canopies were built in other parts of the Christian world in the 5th century.[2]

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[1] See n. 2, p. 202 above.

[2] Duchesne, *L.P.*, I, p. 234: *fecit et fontem baptisterii ad sanctam Mariam et columnis porphyreticis exornavit*.

At Fréjus on the French Riviera, not far from the Italian border, a baptistery belonging probably to the late fourth or early fifth century contained an octagonal font within a centralized building.[3] A scalloped base around the font[4] jutted out into eight points, some of which still bear remnants of the column bases and columns for an octagonal canopy that once sheltered the font. In the early 6th century at Albenga, situated on the Italian Riviera not far from Fréjus, an octagonal font with a base similar to the one described above stood within an interior space similar in plan to that at Fréjus.[1] (See fig. 54.) Upon one side of the rosette-shaped base around the font also stands one remnant of a column base, indicating that an octagonal canopy probably rose over this font also. The similarity of forms used in this building with those in the building at Fréjus, as well as the close geographical location of the two buildings, suggests that Albenga was probably influenced by the earlier baptistery at Fréjus.[2]

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[1] Ibid., n. 14, p. 236.

[2] Besides the examples cited below at Fréjus and Hemmaberg, others stood in North Africa at the basilica of St. Menas (See Ward Perkins, "The Shrine of St. Menas . . .," p. 49), at the basilica of Damous-el-Karita at Carthage (see P. Lapeyre, "La Basilique Chrétienne de Tunisie," in Atti del IV Congresso di Archeologia Cristiana, Roma, 1940, p. 206), and at Djemila (see E. Albertini, "L'Archeologie Chrétienne en Algérie," in Atti del III Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia Cristiana, Roma, 1934, pp. 414-15). See plans in A. Khatchatrian, Les Baptisteres Paleochrétiens, Plans, Notices, et Bibliographie, Paris, 1962.

[3] P. Pfister, "Il Battistero di Fréjus," in Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana, 5, 1928, pp. 352 and 357f.

[4] It is interesting that this kind of scalloped base stood around the Lateran Baptistery, although it is not clear just when it was introduced. See Lafréry engraving in Underwood, "The Fountain of Life," fig. 23.

Within the diocese of Aquileia, near Northern Italy, the octagonal baptistery at Hemmaberg, dating perhaps from the first half of the 5th century,[3] contained a hexagonal font which may have been sheltered by a more or less square canopy. The lastra around this font is of a squarish shape and contains impressions at its four corners that may have been left by the supports of a canopy.

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[1] P. Verzone, L'Architettura Religiosa dell'Alto Medio-evo nell'Italia Settentrionale, Milano, 1942, pp. 71-72, fig. 34.

[2] See Pfister, op. cit., p. 361.

[3] G. C. Menis, La Basilica Paleocristiana nelle Diocesi settentrionali della Metropoli d'Aquileia (Studi di Antiquita Cristiana XXIV), Roma, 1958, pp. 169-170 and 178. P. Underwood, "The Fountain of Life," Appendix B, p. 131 also discusses the Baptistery at the Cathedral of

At Nocera, just Southwest of Naples, a baptistery whose decoration dates from the 6th century contains a round basin bordered by an octagonal base.[1] At each corner of this base a column arose which once supported an octagonal canopy. There are no remains of the roofs belonging to any of the canopies mentioned above, but it seems likely that a structure with eight supports probably contained a vault rising to a point, similar to the one on the Tomb of Christ, or on the structure represented on one short side of the Pola Casket, or the one in Huebsch's reconstruction of the Nocera Baptistery.[2]

Aquileia itself, where a hexagonal base stood around the font. None of the superstructure of this remains, but one column shaft was discovered on the site, suggesting the possibility that a canopy might have stood over the font.

[1] M. Stettler, "Das Baptisterium zu Nocera Superiore," in Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana, 1940, p. 83f. The discussion of dating appears on p. 134f.

[2] Ibid., p. 120, Abb. 19.

All the structures mentioned above, including the Tomb of Christ, repeatedly use forms containing six or eight sides. Paul Underwood has studied the significance of the numbers six and eight in Early Christian doctrine and has outlined their significance in relation to their use in Baptisteries. In brief, six and eight can be seen as the numbers of the days of Holy week, six as the day of Christ's Crucifixion, eight as the day of His Resurrection, or, in a more allegorical vein, the sixth day is a symbol of "the destruction of the body of sin" (St. Augustine), whereas the eighth day becomes the "beginning of another world."[1] This interpretation stresses the closeness of the enactment of the Passion with the death and rebirth attained once for every Christian at Easter, when he is baptized.[2] Important in this regard are the verses, possibly composed by Leo the Great, which are engraved on the architraves given by Sixtus III to the Lateran Baptistery. One verse proclaims:

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[1] See "The Fountain of Life," p. 80f. The quotes cited are from St. Augustine, De Civitate Dei, XIV, 24 (p. 86) and from the Epistle of Barnabas (pp. 81-82). See also R. Krautheimer, "Iconography of Medieval Architecture" in Journal of Warburg & Courtauld Institutes, Vol. V, 1942, p. 8f.

[2] This doctrine is also expressed in Paul's famous passage in Romans 6: 3-11. A similar concept is outlined by St. Ambrose in De Sacramentis, III, 1, 1 (Migne, P.L., 16, col. 449).

> Fons hic est vitae, qui totum diluit orbem
> Sumens de Christi principium.
>
> (This is the fountain of life, which purges
> the whole world, taking its course from the
> wound of Christ.)[1]

From this verse emerges the association of this Baptismal font with the so-called "fountain of life," a concept that before the mid-5th century had appeared in writings of the Church fathers in a more mystical context.[2] Underwood demonstrates how the fons vitae and the baptismal font become associated with one another but are not precisely the same thing.[3] The former has larger and broader connotations and can also be linked to the Tomb of Christ itself, since it "takes its course from the wound of Christ." These complex and mystical associations may establish an iconographic link between baptismal fonts, fountains, and the Tomb of Christ, from which flows the cleansing water of rebirth and salvation. This same symbolism was apparent in Paulinus's and, possibly, Prudentius's account of the water in the cantharus at St. Peter's. It is now time to turn to the Tomb of Christ itself and to examine in detail the symbolism attached to it in order that its sphere of influence can be more adequately assessed.

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[1] Underwood, "Fountain of Life," p. 55.

[2] *Ibid*., p. 45f.

[3] *Ibid*., p. 53f.

PART III: THE "CIBORIUM" AS THE TABERNACLE OF THE NEW LAW, A HYPOTHESIS

Chapter One

THE PLACE OF THE RESURRECTION AND ITS DECORATION

When St. Cyril of Jerusalem spoke to the group of neophytes about the place of the Resurrection and Golgotha, he called that place a "testimony." He asked the group why "this spot . . . is not called like the rest of the churches, a church, but a testimony?"[1] The word which Cyril used for "testimony," μαρτύριōν, seems to have been adopted in both Greek and Latin (*martyrium*) thereafter to signify the place where a martyr's relics were preserved.[2]

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[1] *Catechesis* XIV, VI, *loc. cit*., col. 831, including no. 1. (The translation of this sentence is taken from Schaff and Wace, *Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers*, 2nd series, Vol. VII, p. 95.) The text in Latin reads:

> Quae enim ratione, non caeterarum Ecclesiarum more hic Golgothae et resurrectionis locus Ecclesia appellatur, sed Martyrium? At id fortasse propter prophetam qui dixit: "In diem resurrectionis mea 'in martyrium'" (Zeph. 3, 8).

[2] Perhaps the meaning of the word *martyrium*, applying originally to the sites in the Holy Land that bore witness specifically to Christ's testimony, was later extended to include all places where the remains of martyrs gave evidence of their sacrifice for the testimony of Christ. See discussion in Grabar, *Martyrium*, I, pp. 28-31.

But its original context in this entry would seem to have specified the buildings at the Tomb of Christ which testify to and give evidence of the sacrifice of Christ in His Death and Resurrection.

This sacrifice, which formed the nucleus of the Christian doctrine, was according to many early Christian fathers an event which had long been foreshadowed in the writings of the Old Testament. Not only did prophets and psalmists proclaim that it would occur, but many other passages and customs in the Jewish faith prefigured the Truth that was to come. The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews[1] in the New Testament itself thus explains how the custom of the Jewish high priest, who entered into the sacred precinct of Moses's Tabernacle once a year to offer the blood of a calf or goat for the purification of the sins of the Jewish people, foretold the sacrifice of Christ, Who offered His own Blood for the redemption of all peoples in all time.[2] The same point is made and de-

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[1] Although this epistle is thought not to be the work of Paul himself, it was considered one of the canonical books of the New Testament according to Eusebius himself, Eccl. Hist., III, 3 & 25. It was in use from the time of Clement of Rome. See Schaff and Wace, Eusebius, p. 134, n. 17.

[2] Epistle to the Hebrews, Chapters 9 & 10.

developed by many other early Christian writers. Origen in the 3rd century elaborates particularly how Christ's sacrifice was prefigured in the Holocaust altar of the Hebrews outside the Tabernacle. The blood was then brought into the sacred precinct of the Tabernacle by Aaron, followed by his sons, where it was offered.[1] Among others, St. Jerome,[2] St. Ambrose,[3] Gaudentius of

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[1] In *Leviticum*, Homilia I in Migne, *P.G.*, 12, col. 405f. He elaborates on the point throughout the homily, making such statements as:

> ad ostium tabernaculi . . . . Extra ostium etenium fuit Jesus, ... Non est ergo ingressus tabernaculum illud, ad quod venerat, sed ad ostium ejus oblatus est in holocaustum, quia extra castra passus est. Nam et illi mali coloni venientem filium Patris familias ejecerurt foras extra vineam, et occiderunt. Hoc est ergo quod offertur ad ostium tabernaculi acceptum contra Dominum; et quid tam acceptum quam hostia christi, qui seipsum obtulit Deo? (Col. 608, #2)

[2] *Comment*. *in* *Ezechielum*, Lib. XIV (at conclusion), cap. XLV (on vs. 18, 19f) in *Hieronymus, Opera Omnia*, ed. D. Vallarsii, Venice, 1768, col. 572:

> Oblato autem vitulo pro universo populo terrae, in septem diebus reliquis dominicae passionis septem vituli, & septem arietes immaculati offertur quotidie, ut holocausto & igne dominico concrementur. Septem autem vituli, & septem arietes sunt, qui configurantur dominicae passioni, ut imitentum verum vitulum, & verum arietum, sanguinem Martyrem per septem dies totius mundi peccata purgentur.

[3] See Part III, p. 326 below.

Brescia,[1] and later St. Isidore of Laon[2] also make a similar point. Thus, a prophetic parallel would seem to be suggested between the place where the Old Testament sacrifice was offered, within the court and precinct of the Tabernacle, and the place of fulfillment where Christ's sacrifice was offered in His Death and Resurrection.

The Epistle to the Hebrews points not only to the Holocaust sacrifice in the Tabernacle but also to the whole Hebrew Tabernacle and its vessels as "patterns" and "figures of the true" Tabernacle which Christ was to institute in his "New Covenant."[3] On Mt. Sinai Moses had received not only the sacred Tables of the Hebrew Law but also instructions for the construction of the shrine in which the Tables were to be kept, the Tabernacle. But, the *Epistle* explains, the "Old Law" or "Old Covenant" of the Hebrews was imperfect. It was to be supplanted by a new law and covenant. This was the Christian doctrine, which was both the fulfillment and perfection of the Old Hebrew Law. According to many of the early Christian writers the *New Testament* itself was often called the "New Law." Thus, Eusebius of Caesarea writes: *Hoc igitur Novum Testamentum, legem novam vocat*.[1] Another unknown early Christian author explains how Moses receiving the Law from Mt. Sinai in the *Old Testament* prefigures the Law of Christ given on Mt. Zion at Jerusalem. He goes on to explain that the "Law" of the Christian is the sacred Cross of Christ and that Mt. Zion bears witness to this "Law."[2]

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[1] Sermo I. De Exodi Lect. Prim. in Migne, P.L., 20, col. 847:

> in Exodi libro pariter nunc audivimus (Exod. XII, Levitic XXIII); ubi observatio Paschae describitur, ... extra electum sacrificium Hierosolymae locum, in longinquo itinere constitutus Pascha non potuit celebrare secundo mense celebret.

[2] In Leviticum, cap. 1. De figuris hostiarum (in Migne, P.L., 83, col. 321):

> 1. Sequens Leviticus libes hostiarum diversitates exsequitur, quarum typus imaginem passionis Christi praeferebat. Nam postquam ipse oblatus est, omnes illud sacrificium quod unus et verus sacerdos obtulit, mediator Dei et hominum:

[3] Epistle to the Hebrews, IX: 23-24; VII, 6f. for this and following quotes.

Many early Christian fathers, particularly in the school of Alexandria, took up the theme of the Tabernacle and developed it. Both Origen and Clement of Alexandria wrote treatises on the allegorical significance of the Hebrew Tabernacle. Both viewed the Tabernacle as a symbol which foreshadows the True Tabernacle of Christ. Origen[1] uses the Epistle to the Hebrews as his point of departure. Christ's Tabernacle is not temporal as Moses's but perfect and eternal. It is an image both of Christ's Church and the whole world. It is built on the foundation of the prophets and apostles (after Ephesians 2:20). The columns, which are made of silver to fulfill the scripture in Psalm 12:6: "The words of the Lord are pure words: as silver tried in a furnace of earth purified seven times," become the Word of God; the tent cloths, which symbolize all faithful people joined together, are suspended from the "triple" cord of Faith. This "unbreakable" triple cord is formed by the Trinity, etc.[2]

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[1] *Demonstratio Evangelica*, Lib. I, cap. iv in Migne, *P.G.*, 22, col. 43.

[2] See *Ihm*. *Apsismalèrei*, p. 14, who cites this anonymous author in *P.L.*, 4, 889-997: "Et declaravit montem Sion sanctum esse sanctam crucem. . . . Lex Christanorum crux est sancta Christo Filio Dei vivi . . ."(Col. 997).

Clement[3] emphasizes even more the cosmic significance of the Tabernacle as an allegory of the whole world.

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[1] In Exodum, Homilia IX: De Tabernaculo in Migne, P.G., XII, 361-74.

[2] Ibid., col. 365-66.

[3] Stromatum, Liber V, c. VI: Mysticam Tabernaculi Judaici ejusque apparatus significationem exponit in Migne, P.G., IX, 56-68.

Thus, for example, the material and colors used on the veil hung over the entrance to Moses's Tabernacle stand for the four elements: linen, earth; scarlet, fire; purple, water; blue, air. This concept had already been developed in Jewish tradition by both Josephus and Philo[1] in their writings on the Hebrew Tabernacle and Temple. Both Eusebius and St. Jerome refer to the teachings of these two Jewish writers in their works.[2] St. Jerome also adopts the same viewpoint toward the Tabernacle as the other Christian writers.[3] Gregory of Nyssa, too, teaches a similar lesson in his "Mystical Interpretation of the Life of Moses,"[4] referring also to the Epistle to the Hebrews when interpreting the Tabernacle and its parts. The idea that the Ark of the Covenant within the Tabernacle is an image of Christ is also included in the documents, attributed to Cyril of Alexandria, from the Council of Ephesus in 431 A.D.[1] The material used to construct the Ark of the Covenant, the wood overlaid with gold, prefigure the incorruptible nature of Christ and the Word of God joined to the flesh. St. Isidore of Spain later borrows much of Origen's treatise when he writes of the Tabernacle. He clearly designates the Tabernacle as a "figure" of the Church of Christ, which holds the two Tables of the Law, here interpreted as "esteem for the Law and the Evangelists":

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[1] Josephus, Antiquitates Judaicae, III and Jewish Wars, V, #4; Philo, De Vita Mosis, III, and Quaestiones et Solutiones in Exodum, passim, esp. #59, 68, & 85.

[2] See Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History, II, 18 (in Loeb ed., pp. 157-59) and St. Jerome, Liber de Viris Illustribus, cap. XI in Migne, P.L., 23, cols. 657-660.

[3] See Ep. LXIV ad Fabiolam in Migne, P.L., XXII, p. 613.

[4] See Migne, P.G., XLIV, esp. cols. 381, 82 and 385, 86 for the specific points cited.

> Per hanc arcam Ecclesia Christi significatur . . . habentibus interius etiam duas tabulas Testamenti, id est observantiam legis et Evangelii.[2]

Not only was the Hebrew Tabernacle considered to be a vision of Christ and His Church, but also the Temple of Solomon and Ezechiel's vision of the Temple, which were commented upon by St. Jerome and others. The Ark, the altar of incense, the veils, etc., also formed part of the decorations in the Temple, and the whole structure foretold the same truths that the Tabernacle did. Thus, the Christian writers often use the same parallels whether they are speaking of the Tabernacle or of the Temple. St. Jerome, for example, in his *Commentary on Ezechiel*, makes several statements of this nature:

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[1] See J. Mansi, Amplissima Collectio Sacrorum Conciliorum, Florentiae, 1761, Vol. V, cap. XI, col. 149-150. See also cap. XIV, col. 155.

[2] Quaestiones in Exodum, cap. XLIVf. in Migne, P.L., 83, Col. 310f. The quote is from col. 310.

> Unde & Moyses in tabernaculo, & Solomon in aedificio, non veritatem tentorii Templi, sed similtudinem figuramque fecerunt: ut per haec quae minora sunt & terrena, ea quae in caelestibus, & in spirituali aedificio sunt, intelligere possimus.[1]

The Christian writers, as Origen, who developed these elaborate allegories were outlining spiritual and mystical doctrines, not literal concepts. Yet, one wonders if the Christians, when they were confronted in the 4th century with the problem of choosing specific forms to decorate their own sacred shrines might not have used some of these mystical writings, adopting from them visual images which still stood for allegorical concepts. When, for example, Church authorities in Palestine had to choose forms to decorate Christ's Tomb,[2] why did they select the specific forms that they did to decorate the monument at the place which marked the "martyrium" or the testimony of the sacrifice of Christ?

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[1] *Commentarium in Ezechielem*, Lib. XIII, cap. XLII in *Hieronymus, Opera Omnia*, ed. D. Vallarsius, ~~Venice~~, ~~1768~~, col. 517. See also Lib. XIII, cap. XLIII, col. 525-26 and 526-27 for similar statements.

[2] Although Constantine, in his letter preserved by Eusebius in the *Vita Constantini*,(III, 30-33), had ordered that fine materials should be provided for the decoration of the Tomb, he entrusted the specific plans for the

The monument which marked the Holy Sepulchre, with its canopy-like shelter in an open courtyard, has been discussed in Part I above. But whereas we attempted to discover some of the sources of Christian canopies at Rome in Roman imperial art and architecture, only a passing comment was made about the possible sources of forms which composed the structure sheltering the Tomb. It was noted that the round _tholos_ which crowned some Roman tomb monuments (such as those of Aquileia and St. Rémy) were similar to the monument placed over Christ's Tomb.[1] To this may be added Klauser's observations[2] on tomb façades at Petra in the Near East which also contain _tholoi_ similar to Christ's Tomb momument. Even closer geographically to Christ's

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construction of the monument to Macarius, the Bishop of Jerusalem. The design for the Tomb, then, may have been conceived at Jerusalem itself by local authorities and theologians, who were familiar with the Jewish tradition.

[1] See Part II, p. 191 above. H. Vincent and F. M. Abel, _Jérusalem Nouvelle_, Paris, 1914, p. 177 make a similar point regarding the background of the Tomb.

[2] Th. Klauser, "Das Ciborium in der älteren christlichen Buchmalerei," in _Nachrichten_ der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, I. Philologisch-Historische Klasse, 1961, Nr. 7, p. 195.

Tomb are the honored Jewish tombs, such as the so-called Tomb of Absalom in the Kedron Valley near Jerusalem. These tombs sometimes contain pyramidal or conical roofs, also.[1]

But the ampouls have provided a more detailed image of the monument over Christ's Tomb. The enclosure of chancel grating, probably of silver, we also noted, reminded us of the appearance of the high railings between the columns of the canopy on the SUCCESSA VIVAS medal. The rest of the decoration included spiral columns and geometric designs (probably of metalwork) on rounded gables rising between the columns. The entrance to the cave, containing the Tomb, was crowned with an upward and outward radiating shell within a pediment. This may have been the "adornment" with which the emperor Constantine decorated the cave when he cut away its original entrance, according to St. Cyril's description in the mid 4th century.[1] Other decorations included lamps and hangings, decorated sometimes with reticulate designs and round objects, before the entrance and candles, leaves, and flowers adorning the top of the monument.

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[1] See, for examples, E. R. Goodenough, Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period, New York, Bollingen series 37, 1953, Vol. I, p. 81; Vol. 3, figs. 27, 28, & 91. Syrian tombs of the 4th century often display roofs of the same shapes. See H. C. Butler, Publications of an American Expedition to Syria, 1899-1900, Part II, Architecture and the Other Arts, N.Y. and London, 1903, pp. 73-74, 109-111, 299-300, Pl. XXV; M. de Vogüé, Syrie Centrale, Architecture Civile et Religieuse, Paris, 1865, Vol. I, pp. 117, 119; Vol. II, Pl. 93 & 97.

Perhaps it may be significant that the upward and outward radiating shell (see figs. 55-57, 59 & 60), a perpetually burning lamp,[2] hangings,[3] branches,[4] a reticulate pattern with circles,[1] and grillwork[2] have all been found

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[1] See Part I, p. 35f above.

[2] The unextinguishable lamp inside the Tomb recalls the "perpetual light" hung before the Jewish shrines, perhaps visible on the Beth Alpha mosaic (fig. 57) at the peak of the gable. See Jewish Encyclopedia, art "Ark," Vol. II, p. 107 and Goodenough, Jewish Symbols . . ., Vol. 4, pp. 74 (n. 23) and 130. For other examples, see Ibid., Vol. 3, figs. 59, 60, 646.

[3] Note "hangings" above the shrine in fig. 58. More noteable, however, are the "veils" or hangings described in Exodus which were hung before the Ark:

Exodus 26: 31-33:

> And thou shalt make a veil of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen of cunning work: with cherubims shall it be made: And thou shalt hang it upon four pillars of shittim wood overlaid with gold: their hooks shall be of gold, upon the four sockets of silver.
>
> And thou shalt hang up the veil under the taches, that thou mayest bring in thither within the veil the ark of the testimony; and the veil shall divide unto you between the holy place and the most holy.

[4] See fig. 60 for branches in the frieze beside and over the shell decorations. The ampouls sometimes show

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branches at the extremities of the Crucifixion scene over the Tomb (see fig. 9). These are rendered in a manner similar to the barren and flowering rod of Aaron, which appears on each side of the Jewish Ark or shrine on the Beth Alpha mosaic (see fig. 57). The Epistle to the Hebrews noted the presence of Aaron's rod, or branch (virga), in the Ark, and Origen in his homily on the Tabernacle mentioned that it symbolized the grace and authority of the priesthood as agents of God. (In Exodium, IX, in Migne, P.G., 12, col. 367).

Origen, in his treatise on the Tabernacle, refers to the Hebrew ritual, outlined in Leviticus 23:40, of bringing leafy palm and willow branches to make "huts" or tabernacles for the feast of Tabernacles (Ibid., col. 369). These branches signify the victory of the spirit over the flesh and the virtue of abstinence respectively. Because of their significance, Origen writes, these leafy branches come to symbolize the good and eternal way of life found in Christ.

[1] On two ampouls a reticulate pattern covers the veil and on one of these ampuls a round object stands at the center of each diamond. This same pattern also appeared on Jewish shrines, although not always in a corresponding position. The decoration occurs on both the veils looped above the shrine and on the base below the shrine in a Jewish catacomb painting at Rome (fig. 58). A single diamond, usually with a round object at the center, also decorated the space beneath an arcuated shrine with a shell on a Palestinian lamp and tomb door relief. For illustrations, see Goodenough, Jewish Symbols . . ., Vol. 3, figs. 44 & 282. The same kind of lozenge patterns appear on Jewish glass vessels, also. See Ibid., figs. 406-07 and ff. The same pattern appears painted below and at the back of the Dura niche for the scrolls of the Law. See Goodenough, Jewish Symbols . . ., V. 3, fig. 599. The same patterns had also decorated the walls of the assembly room of the Synagogue at Dura in its first phase. See Ibid., Vol. 9 (1964), p. 42, Vol. 11(1964), fig. 353.

[2] See fig. 58 and also Goodenough, Jewish Symbols . . ., Vol. 3, figs. 215, 710.

on early remains or representations of Jewish shrines. It is often difficult to tell if the representations show the Ark of the Covenant or Torah shrines in the Jewish synagogues which held the Books of the Law. These shrines may, however, have been related to one another, the latter perhaps growing out of the former, since the same Hebrew and Greek words (a̍ron and κιβωτος) signify both kinds of shrines.[1] The painting above the Torah niche at Dura (fig. 55), for example, because of the shell placed over the shrine, seems related to the actual shrine with a similar shell in the niche below. At the same time, the representation above the niche also seems related to parts of the description of the Ark of the Covenant in the Book of _Exodus_, before which stood a columnar screen of four columns.[2] This painting, when compared with some ampoul representations of the Tomb of Christ (see figs. 9, 10, 12), also might suggest certain similarities: the entrance to the "cave" and to the "ark" are both crowned by the same kind of shell. Both are also protected by a columnar screen in front of or around the sacred shrine itself.

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[1] _Ibid._, Vol. 4, p. 115 and _Jewish Encyclopedia_, II, 107.

[2] For the passage in _Exodus_, see n. 3, p. 278 above. For a discussion of the identification of the shrine represented at Dura, which is by no means certain, see Carl H. Kraeling, _Excavations at Dura-Europas_, Final Report VIII, pt. 1, _The Synagogue_, New Haven, 1956, pp. 59-61; C. Wendel, _Der Thoraschrein im Altertum_, Hallische Monographien XV, 1950, pp. 14-15; Goodenough, _Jewish Symbols_, . . ., Vol. 4, pp. 114-115.

However, because of the uncertainties surrounding all of these forms, both from the Tomb of Christ and from the Jewish monuments, one can do little more here than to suggest that a relationship might possibly have existed between Jewish and Christian forms. If this were so, the relationship might have been based on the allegories developed in the Epistle to the Hebrews and in the writings of Origen and the school of Alexandria in the 3rd century in particular. The original position of the Tomb of Christ within an open courtyard might also have been adopted to reflect the courtyard of the Tabernacle where the Holocaust sacrifice was performed. But as the blood of the animal was brought inside the Tabernacle for the actual purification rites, so the Christian Eucharist was probably also performed within the Church of the Martyrium which Constantine had built near the Tomb. But, at the same time, the place of the Resurrection was probably considered as the place where the New Law was made manifest, the place of "testimony." Thus, it might have been decorated in a manner akin to the old Ark of the Covenant and its accoutrements.

Whether or not this was true, the form of the canopy over the Tomb of Christ, because of its prime significance, seems to have influenced other structures or works of art. We have already mentioned the similarity of the hexagonal or octagonal canopy rendered on the Pola Casket to the Tomb.[1] There also appear in some Gospel manuscripts of a later date the so-called tholoi (see fig. 61) as well as the "fountain of life" (see fig. 62) in Carolingian manuscripts that seem related in form to the Tomb.

A tholos appears in the late 6th century in the Rabula Gospels.[2] In this case it shelters the figure of Christ enthroned, flanked by saints. It has at its peak the Cross resting on an orb, just as the canopy over the Holy Sepulchre had also. Along with other contemporary examples, the 10th century Etchmiadzin Gospels, that are based on the text and therefore probably also the decoration of earlier manuscripts,[1] contains a single page of decoration which shows simply a tholos with six columns, a lamp, and veils (fig. 61). It also possesses at its peak the Cross resting on an orb and, besides, appears between two trees which indicate its association with the site of the True Cross and the Tomb of Christ. Underwood has shown how trees similar in shape had flanked the True Cross on later monuments and had stood to each side of the Holy Sepulchre itself on the Lateran Reliquary box.[2] Thus, this tholos would seem clearly linked to the place of the Crucifixion and Resurrection and perhaps may even stand as a kind of "Temple" or "Tabernacle" of Christ's New Law.

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[1] See Part II, p. 199 f.

[2] See Rabbula Gospels, facs. ed., Lausanne, 1959, f. 14a.

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[1] See S. der Nersessian, "The Date of the Initial Miniatures of the Etchmiadzin Gospels," in Art Bulletin, XV, 1933, p. 327.

[2] Underwood, "Fountain of Life," pp. 98-103 & figs. 45-48. These trees are suggestive of the garden that was to have stood at the site of the sepulchre, which came to be equated with the garden of paradise. See pp. 287 - 290 below. It is very significant that these trees are actually labelled "tree of paradise" on an Ethiopian ms. of the 14th century. See Jules Leroy, "Recherches sur la Tradition Iconographique des Canons D'Eusèbe en Éthiopie" in Cahiers Archéologiques, XII, 1962, p. 176.

Klauser has recently observed that the tholos, the Canon Table frames, and the Tomb of Christ all have certain similarities of design which suggest some sort of relationship among the three.[1] All are shrines supported by columns which are often decorated with birds, flowers, branches, veils, lamps, etc. Another miniature in the Etchmiadzin Gospels, placed after the set of Canon Tables, shows the enthroned Christ with saints (fig. 63). But instead of sitting beneath a tholos as in the earlier Rabula Gospels, the figures appear under an arch, which is an almost exact replica of the frame over the second page of the prologue to the Canon Tables (fig. 64). The branches and birds are also present, along with the upward and outward radiating shell above the head of Christ, the motif which has also appeared over the entrance to the cave at the Tomb of Christ and was so prominent in the design of Jewish shrines. The composition of the frame suggests that there may indeed exist some relationship among the forms used on the decoration over Christ's Tomb, on the tholos and also on Canon Table frames. We remember that Eusebius called the New Testament the "New Law." The Canon Table frames then may also form a kind of "Temple" or "Tabernacle" for a Harmony of the four Gospels, the "New Law."[1] These designs may, therefore, be related, both visually and symbolically, to the Tomb of Christ at the site of the Crucifixion and Resurrection, They may, as the "testimony" of the Christian Faith, even be related symbolically to the Hebrew Tabernacle and Temple, which became the "pattern" that foretold the sacrifice of Christ and the establishment of His Church.

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[1] Klauser, "Das Ciborium in der älteren christlichen Buchmalerei," pp. 194-95.

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[1] I intend to publish an article on this subject in the near future.

Chapter Two

THE FOUNTAIN OF LIFE

The "Fountain of Life" found in the Godescalc and Soissons Gospels (fig. 62), as has been observed before,[1] closely resembles the *tholoi* in the Eastern manuscripts. The lower part of the miniature in the Soissons Gospels clearly shows a fountain (fig. 62,b), whereas the structure in the earlier Godescalc Gospels (fig. 62,a) exhibits railings between the columns which suggest that it may be either a fountain or, as in Klauser's more convincing interpretation, a spring or well.[2]

The writings of some of the Church fathers indicate that the "fountain of life" may be an extension of the same idea that seems to have been behind the *tholos* and the Tomb of Christ. St. Cyril of Jerusalem, in the same lecture cited earlier, also taught his catechumens about the place of the Crucifixion and Resurrection:

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[1] Underwood, "fountain of Life," p. 89f; Klauser, "Das Ciborium in der älteren christlichen Buchmalerei," pp. 200-202. It might also be noted here that several 14th and 15th century Ethiopian manuscripts use this image. See Leroy, "Recherches sur la Tradition Iconographique des Canons d'Eusèbe en Éthiopie," pp. 173-204. However, the structures in these manuscripts are not always clearly rendered as a fountain. They seem to be identified as the "fountain of life" chiefly because of the harts which stand beside them.

[2] Klauser, "Das Ciborium in der älteren christlichen Buchmalerei," pp. 206-207.

> for it was a garden where He was crucified. For though it has now been most royally adorned with royal gifts, yet formerly it was a garden, and the signs and remnants of this remain. *A garden enclosed, a fountain sealed* (Cant. 6:12) by the Jews who said, *We remember that that deceiver said while He was yet alive, After three days I will rise: command therefore that the Sepulchre be made sure*; and further on, *so they went, and made the Sepulchre sure, sealing the stone with the guard*. . . . But who is the fountain that is sealed, or who is interpreted as being *a well-spring of living water* (*Cant*., 6:15)? It is the Saviour Himself, concerning whom it is written, *For with Thee is the fountain of Life* (Psalm 35 (36):9).[1]

Thus, the place of the Resurrection is revealed to be also a *Fons Vitae*, which stood in the midst of a garden, according to St. Cyril. This garden was also allegorically interpreted by others, St. Ambrose, for example,[2] to be the garden of Paradise in the midst of which the fons vitae, the symbol of Christ, stood. Thus, the position of the Tomb standing in the open in the midst of a courtyard would have borne out this prophecy, whether or not the interpretation evolved before or after the actual monument around the Sepulchre was built.

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[1] *Catechesis*, L. XIV, #5 in Schaff & Wace, *St. Cyril of Jerusalem*, p. 95.

[2] *De Paradiso*, L. I, cap. 3 in Migne, *P.L.*, 14, col. 279-280; *In Psalmum XXXV Enarratio*, #22 in *Ibid*., col. 963; *De Spiritu Sancto*, I, cap. XV, #'s 172-182. A translation of this is in Schaff & Wace, *Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers*, Vol. X, 2nd series, pp. 113-114.

But the fons vitae, like the Tomb and the tholos, had one other important association. It was tightly linked with the four Gospels. St. Jerome, for example, in his Expositio on John, speaks of the "livings waters" or the "well of water springing up into everlasting life" (John, 4:14) as the doctrine of the Evangelists, which gives everlasting life ("aquae vivae, id est, praedicatio Evangelii, quae donat perpetuam vitam").[1] Eusebius of Caesarea, too, interpreted the house of God, the Church, to be (allegorically) filled with the waters of Christ, about whom we learn through the doctrine of the Evangelists:

> Torrens voluptatis Christus est . . . fons vitae. Ex evangelica doctrina Christum esse vitam ediscimus.[2]

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[1] Expositio Quattuor Evangeliorum, Joannes in Migne, P.L., 30, col. 579D & 581.

[2] Commentaria in Psalmos in Migne, P.G., 23, cols. 321/322.

Underwood also cites several Carolingian codices in which the Holy Scriptures that are contained in them are called the *fontes vitae*.[1]

Underwood also refers to St. Jerome's prologue in his Commentary on St. Matthew, which was used as a prologue to the Gospels in some Western manuscripts. Here Jerome states that both *Ecclesia* (the Church) and the four Gospels spout forth in the manner of the four rivers of paradise (*quatuor flumina paradisi instar eructans*).[2] Underwood notes the jet of water that rises from the center of the *fons* in the Soissons Gospels and then separates into four arching streams of water. St. Ambrose had also taught that four rivers branched forth out of the "fountain of life" in the center of paradise and that the Father and Son together constituted the "fountain" because, prior to Christ's appearance on earth, "In the beginning . . . the Word" (*John* 1:1) was with the Father.[3]

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[1] "The Fountain of Life," p. 49.

[2] *Ibid*., p. 72 & n. 114. The complete text of Jerome's prologue appears in Wordsworth & White, *Novum Testamentum* . . ., p. 11f.

[3] See the first two references in n. 2, p. 287 above.

The doctrine of the Evangelists was also associated by many others with the four rivers of paradise, which had their source in Eden.[1] Thus we return again to the site of the Resurrection--in a garden, presumably of paradise, where the Tomb, the Church, the Gospel, and the "New Law" all had their source. The mosaic at Junca[2] may illustrate these associations, for it seems to suggest the buildings at the site of Golgotha and the Resurrection, the "fountain" in paradise issuing forth in four streams, and, possibly, the New "Temple" of the Church.

It does not seem too far a step to the verses found on the Lateran Font referring to the fons vitae, which took its course from the wound of Christ and which cleanses the whole world.[3] St. John Chrysostom, in his

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[1] See also Paulinus of Nola, Ep. 32, #10 in Goldschmidt, Paulinus's Churches at Nola, p. 38 and St. Augustine, The City of God, Bk. XIII, c. 21. Other references are cited by P. A. Février, "Les Quatres fleuves du Paradis" in Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana, XXXII, 1956, pp. 190-96 and by Underwood, "The Fountain of Life," p. 105. Here the possibility is also introduced that the Sepulchre in Eden was the omphalos of the world. Vincent & Abel, Jérusalem Nouvelle, pp. 188 and 224-25 also explore this possibility.

[2] This is discussed and illustrated by Février, op. cit., pp. 198-99, fig. 6.

[3] See Part II, p. 264 above.

Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews, in referring to the water and blood issuing from Christ's side, calls Baptism a symbol of the Passion of Christ: Idem hic ostendit esse sanguinem et aquam: baptisma enim est ejus passionis symbolum.[1] Another association between Christ's Passion and the sacrament of Baptism is established in Paulinus's writings, where he mentions aquam gratiae et sanguinem sacramenti, made manifest by the lance at Golgotha.[2]

The use of octagonal and hexagonal forms on the fons in the two Gospel manuscripts seem to reflect numerically the same associations as those between Baptism and the Passion and Resurrection of Christ. It has already been suggested here, following Underwood, that the numbers six and eight in Baptisteries were linked to the days of Holy Week.[3] St. Jerome, in speaking of the Die Domina

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[1] Hom. XVI in Migne, P.G., 63, col. 124.

[2] Ep. 42, 4 in Corpus Script. Eccl., 29, p. 326:

> illa petra, super quam domus stabilita non conruit et illa petra, quae latere lancea perforato aqua fluxit et sanguine, ut pariter salutiferos nobis funderet fontes, aquam gratiae et sanguinem sacramenti, quaidem est et fons nostrae salutis et pretium.

This passage is also quoted and discussed by Goldschmidt, Paulinus's Churches at Nola, p. 101.

[3] See Part II, p. 263 above.

Pascha, says, "Haec est dies, quae appellatur octava . . . in qua synagoga finitur et Ecclesia nascitur,"[1] establishing eight as the number of "New Life" signified in the birth of the Church.[2]

Thus the hexagonal and octagonal structures adopted for use in baptisteries, and around the fons vitae and the tholos, can probably be associated by means of the complex allegories of the Church fathers with the Tomb, Temple, and Church of Christ, into which the catechumens were about to be initiated. Through the sacramental water of Baptism the initiate was washed clean from his sins and born anew, as the Church itself was once born on the same day.

Prudentius, in writing of the water in a spring flowing outside of St. Peter's basilica in Rome (perhaps the cantharus in the atrium),[3] alluded to this water as made fruitful in the Sacrament of Baptism. This same water also flowed into the Baptistery of St. Peter's inside the basilica. Paulinus of Nola, who clearly described the cantharus in the atrium, added allegories to his description which seem to coincide exactly with the allegories we have noted above. "Non sine mystica specie quattuor columnis salientes aquas ambiens," he writes. "It is fitting that the entrance to the Church is ornamented this way," he goes on to point out, because the decorations in front of the Church stand for mysteries revealed inside (decet enim ingressum ecclesiae talis ornatus, ut quod intus mysterio salutari geritur spectabili pro foribus opere signetur). The "mysteries" contained in the form of the cantharus are explained in these terms:

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[1] In Die Domina Paschae in Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, LXXVIII, S. Hieronymi Presbyteri Opera, pars II, p. 545. Jerome in this same passage gives other significant manifestations of the number eight.

[2] See Krautheimer, "Iconography of Medieval Architecture," p. 28.

[3] See Part I, p. 155f above.

> Nam et nostri corporis templum quadriiungo stabilimento una evangelii fides sustinet et, cum ex eo gratia, qua renascimur, fluat et in eo Christus, quo vivimus, reveletur, profecto nobis in quattuor vitae columnas illic aquae salientis in vitam aeternam fons nascitur nosque ab interno rigat et fervet in nobis, si tamen possimus dicere vel sentire mereamur habere nos cor ardens in via, quod Christo nobiscum inambulante flammatur.[1]

The allegorical figure of the cantharus, then, becomes a "temple of our body"; the four columns become the supporting "foursome" of the four Gospels; in the fountain are the living waters of Christ "springing up unto life everlasting" (John 4:14) in which we live and are revived. Paulinus stresses that these mysteries are revealed within us, so that Christ will be able to impassion and enflame our hearts.

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[1] Ep. 13, 13 in Corpus Script. Ecclesiast., 29, p. 95.

It may not be accidental that the forms used to compose the canopy over the cantharus at St. Peter's seem to resemble those used on Canon Table frames, especially those taken from the opening page of the prologue, which acts as a kind of entrance to the Gospel manuscript and which often contains an over-all pattern in the lunette space, with peacocks above the arch itself (see fig. 33). As has been stated above, one cannot tell from late medieval and early Renaissance drawings just when the small decorative elements were applied to the cantharus canopy. Be that as it may, this canopy, with its four gables, with the pattern work in the lunette spaces, with the acroteria-like drains, and with the peacocks, might well be described as four canon table frames set up in a square, and thus, perhaps, a three-dimensional "temple" of the New Law, sustained by the four "supports" of the Gospels.

We have earlier suggested that Pope Damasus may have been the donor of both the cantharus and the Baptistery at St. Peter's. Pope Damasus was also the one to whom St. Jerome had sent the vulgate version of the four Gospels preceded by Eusebius's Canon Tables, presumably accompanied by frames. St. Jerome introduced the system of Tables to Damasus in a letter of 383 A.D. which was often thereafter copied in the West directly into the manuscripts of the Gospels before the Canon Tables.[1] Thus, by 383, Damasus was probably acquainted with designs for Canon Table frames and could possibly have used them in the conception of the cantharus decorations at St. Peter's. It seems possible, too, that the motif of the "fountain of life," seen in the two Carolingian manuscripts, was originally conceived at about the same time, and again perhaps on the basis of Eastern Gospel decorations, and was thus revived, along with other Early Christian forms,[2] by the 8th and 9th century miniaturists.

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[1] Wordsworth and White, Novum Testamentum . . ., p. xxxviii & 1-4.

[2] See R. Krautheimer, "Carolingian Revival of Early Christian Architecture" in Art Bulletin, Vol. XXIV, 1942, pp. 1-38. One wonders if Stephen II's rebuilding of the cantharus at St. Peter's, with eight marble columns instead of four, as before, might have been influenced by already existing "fountain" decorations in manuscripts, which had eight columns (See Part I, p. 153 above.). The Underwood "Fountain of Life," pp. 61-67, feels that the "Fountain of Life" was a Carolingian invention.

The whole arrangement of the cantharus in front of St. Peter's, placed before a "vestibule," in the center of a courtyard (see fig. 34), might also have been inspired by analogies to Moses's Tabernacle and Solomon's Temple, drawn in allegories of the Temples of the Old Law and the New Law. The Tabernacle or Temple of the Jews included a courtyard before the sacred area inside in which a laver for washing was placed. As the Lord had commanded him to do, Moses had constructed a "laver of brass . . . between the Tabernacle of the congregation and the altar, and . . . put water therein." (Exodus 30:18) The laver served to wash the hands and feet of Aaron, his sons, and all the priests of Israel

> when they go into the Tabernacle of the Congregation . . . or when they come near to the altar to minister, to burn offerings made by fire unto the Lord. So they shall wash their hands and their feet, that they die not: and it shall be a statute forever to them. (Exodus 30:19-21)

At Solomon's Temple the "molten sea" and ten layers were included in the courtyard.[1] The purpose of the ten layers was to wash "such offerings as they offered for burnt offerings," but the "sea," which was a round basin of bronze, "was for the priests to wash in." (*Chronicles* 4:6) St. Zeno of Verona interprets this "sea" of bronze allegorically in his "De Spirituali aedificatione domus Dei" as a "living sea" of an "everlasting fountain" which leads us from shipwreck to an untroubled life.[1]

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[1] See I Kings, 7:23-39 and II Chronicles, 4:2-10.

Besides these allegories, there are actual remains in Synagogue courts of basins for ablutions or of inscriptions which tell of the existence of these.[1] Furthermore at the Synagogue of Noarah near Jericho some remains and an inscription found in the courtyard of the Synagogue indicate that a basin, found in the center of the court, may have been covered by a kind of canopy.[2] Gaudentius of Brescia, in one of his sermons on Exodus, refers to the custom of the Jews, who must wash in a basin (hydra) holding 1, 2, or 3 metretas, before entering the synagogue.[3]

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[1] Liber I, Tract. XIV, III in Migne, *P.L.*, XI, col. 357:

> In totius fabricae fundamentis non sicut in Judaeae templo plurimi, sed magnus, praeclarus, pretiosus, ac speciosus unis est lapis, qui quadrae turris totam solus sustinent molem (Ephesians 2:20): . . . non aeneum inhaeret mare; quia illi perennis fontis sui vivum inest mare; non quod naufragos faciat, sed quod naufragos ad vitam suavem perducat: . . .

Still other church fathers, as St. Jerome in discussing Ezechial's vision of the Temple, refer to the tumult of waters streaming out from the sanctuary as fountains of water that signify the doctrine of Christ: *In Ezechielem*, L. XIV, cap. XLVII (ed. Vallarsii, col. 586-87):

> sacras esse aquas, & Salvatoris nostri significare doctrinam . . . . Apparurerunt enim fontes aquarum . . . . Sicut igitur legimus in bonam partem aquas quae egrediuntur de limine Templi, & referuntur ad doctrinam Ecclesiae, ... Quae aqua alio nomine vocatur MARA, hoc est, *amaritudo*; in quam lignum Crucis mittitur, & amara vertuntur in dulcia.

The inscriptions on or descriptions of Christian canthari which have remained indicate that these "basins" were for ablutions also. Paulinus said that the water in the cantharus at St. Peter's was to "ministra manibus et oribus nostris."[4]

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[1] See Goodenough, Jewish Symbols . . ., Vol. 1, 208, 227 and Vol. 2, 77; A. Grabar, "Recherches sur les Sources Juives de l'Art Paleochrétien" in Cahiers Archéologiques, XI, 1960, p. 56, who cites the evidence from L. Robert, "Inscriptions Grecques de Sidè en Pamphylie" in Revue de Philologie, XXIII, 1958, esp. pp. 43-45.

[2] Ibid., p. 45 and H. Vincent, "Le Synagogue de Noarah" in Revue Biblique, V. 30, 1921, pp. 581-84; idem, Review of Sukenik, Ancient Synagogues in Palestine and Greece, in Revue Biblique, 44, 1935, p. 114, n. 1.

[3] Sermo IX, De Exodi, in Migne, P.L., 20, col. 904f.

[4] Ep. 13, 13 in Corpus Script. Eccles., 29, p. 94.

In the 8th century the cantharus also served for sacred ablutions in the Easter ceremonies.[1] The purpose of the cantharus erected in the atrium of S. Paolo f. l. m. in Rome was also for ablutions, according to an epigram of Leo the Great, made up of four distychs which could have been arranged on four sides of such a monument, perhaps, as has been suggested, even on a canopy erected over the fountain.[2] Two of the distychs read:

> Unda lavat carnis maculas, sed crimina purgat
> purificatque animas mundior amne fides.
>
> Quisque suis meritis; veneranda sacraria Pauli
> ingrederis supplex, ablue fonte manus.

Other Christian fountains also had the same purpose according to a 6th century inscription from Viterbo (Chr[ist]iane laba manus et ora ut remittant)[3] and according to Eusebius's description of the Church at Tyre:[4]

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[1] See Duchesne, L.P., I, p. 503:

> in balneo iuxta eandem ecclesian situm, ubi fratres nostri Christi pauperas, qui ad accipiendam elemosinam in paschalem festivitatam annue occurrunt, lavare solebant.

[2] See discussion in Goldschmidt, Paulinus's Churches at Nola, p. 115, where the text of the epigram is quoted. See also de Rossi, Inscr. Crist., II, pp. 80-81 and note to #13. The first and last distychs have been interchanged in different manuscripts.

[3] Goldschmidt, Paulinus's Churches at Nola, p. 115.

[4] Eccles. Hist. X, 4, 39 & 40 in Schaff and Wace, Eusebius, p. 375.

> But when one comes into the gates he does not permit him to enter the sanctuary with impure and unwashed feet; but . . . making a quadrangular space with pillars, rising on every side, . . . he has left an open space (atrium)[1] in the middle . . . . Here he has placed symbols of the sacred purifications, setting up fountains opposite the temple which furnish an abundance of water wherewith those who come within the sanctuary may purify themselves.

Eusebius hints that the fountains in the court are "symbols of sacred purifications," which may well reflect the sacred ablutions of the Jewish rites, that in the Christian religion may symbolize the purifying doctrine of Christ.

Thus, the cantharus at St. Peter's might have stood not only for the fountain of Life, which flows from Paradise (St. Peter's atrium was actually called "paradise" in the 12th century[2]), but also as a fulfillment of the prophetic Jewish forms in Moses's Tabernacle and at Solomon's Temple. Besides serving for ablutions, the basin was also made of bronze or brass like the Tabernacle laver and like Solomon's "molten sea." Of great importance in this case is Paulinus of Nola's descriptions of the fountains at Nola, which might possibly have been inspired by the fountain at St. Peter's: there was a large fountain covered with a bronze canopy and other smaller basins arranged in 5 rows on each side of the court between the two basilicas, all for washing. But, above all, Paulinus himself tells us that the arrangement was adopted to parallel the "sea" of bronze and the 10 lavers in Solomon's Temple:

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[1] See Ibid., n. 68.

[2] See the 12th century text of Petrus Mallius in de Rossi, Ins. Crist, II, p. 219.

> Namque tenes etiam magna Salomonis in aede,
> Quam fuerat decori siccum mare: quod sapiens
> rex aere dedit solido, et tauris suspendit
> adhenis.[1]

The later fountain, belonging to the atrium in front of Justinian's church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, was also made of bronze and held waters for cleansing which had mystical associations.[2] Still other churches

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[1] Carmen 27, ll. 477-79, following the description of the arrangement of the fountains in the atrium (in Goldschmidt, Paulinus's Churches at Nola, p. 58.

[2] According to Paul the Silentiary's Descriptio S. Sophiae in Migne, P.G., 82, pt. 2, col. 2141/42:

> In eximio longi atrii umbilico stat ampla phiala quaedam, ex eleganti jaspide excisa, ubi immurmurans fons undas suas gestit in aerem emittere, vi quadam ex aerea fistula resilientem, undas morborum omnium expultrices, cum plebs mense aurata veste induto, in mystico Dei festo, noctu immaculatam aquam vasculis, haeret, undas Dei virtutem praedicantes: nunquam enim aquas istas putredo mucorve invasit, quamvis multos annos extra fontem domi maneant

churches in the East had fountains within courtyards which were covered by canopies. The fountain located in a courtyard behind the Cathedral at Gerasa was decorated in the late 5th century with a canopy carried by four supports.[1] At St. Demetrius in Salonika, too, there was a fountain at the center of the atrium in front of the church whose date, however, is uncertain.[2] This was octagonal in shape and was sheltered by a canopy resting on eight columns, reminiscent of canopies in Baptisteries and manuscript decorations. A fountain was also at some point built below the main altar in the crypt of this church. This fountain had a canopy-like structure constructed over it with a marble entablature supported by seven columns. Grabar calls this structure a "fountain of Life" which

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in situlae concavis asservatae, . . .

According to later anthologies, an inscription on the fountain read: "wash your sins, not only your face" (*νιψον ανομήματα, μή μόναν όψιν*)(*Ibid*., col. 2177).

[1] See J. W. Crowfoot, "The Christian Churches" in *Gerasa*, *City of the Decapolis*, ed. C. Kraeling, New Haven, Conn., 1938, p. 211, plan XXXIII.

[2] C. Diehl, Le Tourneau & H. Saladin, *Les Monuments Chrétiens de Salonique*, Paris, 1918, p. 69, figs. 28 & 29. The octagonal fountain was probably part of a later construction, when the atrium floor was raised. There may, however, have been an earlier fountain at that spot.

was for the cleansing and purifying of the faithful.[1]

At Rome itself, there is the possibility, previously discussed,[2] that the fountain in the atrium before the Oratory of the Holy Cross, next to the Lateran Baptistery, may have been surrounded by a canopy-like decoration supported by six or more columns and that it may have looked like the Tomb of Christ. If this were the case, this fountain canopy may well have been intended to act as a means of purification and as a symbol of the Tomb of Christ itself, the true source of the "fountain of life." We recall that in the Oratory was a fragment of the wood of the True Cross and that the act of Baptism itself suggested the enactment of the Passion of Christ.[3] Thus, it seems possible that this complex of buildings, whose purpose was to baptize and confirm the neophytes, might be related symbolically to the sites at the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, in whose courtyard within the garden of paradise, stood the Tomb. The possibility that a church complex could symbolize the holy sites at Jerusalem may have occurred elsewhere in Italy by this time, as will be suggested in a later chapter.

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[1] Grabar, Martyrium, Vol. I, pp. 452-53.

[2] See Part I, pp. 162 f above.

[3] See Part II, p. 263 above.

Chapter Three

ALTAR CANOPIES IN THE EAST

As at Ravenna, there is evidence that some early altar canopies occurred in Eastern churches independent of relics or martyrs. No attempt will be made here to cover the whole subject of altar canopies in the East; only a few isolated examples will be mentioned in order to point out the fact that there was a tradition which differed essentially from the one at Rome.

One early example stood in the church dedicated to St. Menas, which was built by Theophilus, Archbishop of Alexandria from 385 to 412. The main parts of this church were consecrated sometime before 412 A.D.[1] As Paulinus had developed and enlarged the churches at Nola to provide more space for the faithful around the grave of St. Felix, so, too, the area around the burial place of St. Menas had been incorporated into a larger church which could accommodate more pilgrims and worshippers.

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[1] Ward Perkins, "The Shrine of St. Menas . . .," p. 33.

However, the grave of Saint Menas was situated in front of the church rather than inside it (in the central semicircle, fig. 72), and was thus entirely separate from the altar. The large T-shaped basilica built behind the tomb contained a large canopy, approximately three meters square,[1] at the end of the nave at the crossing of the "T" (see fig. 72). There is no evidence to indicate whether this canopy is contemporary with Theophilus's church. It might possibly have belonged to a later remodeling, perhaps in the time of the Emperor Zeno at the end of the 5th century.[2] The "four bases"[3] of this canopy still remain in place. Behind the canopy stood a stepped dais for the clergy. Both dais and canopy were apparently enclosed on all sides by a chancel, according to the evidence of the remaining fittings. These surrounding elements suggest that the main altar probably stood beneath the canopy. The canopy, then, whether of the fifth century or the sixth, did not stand above the tomb of St. Menas but probably sheltered the altar alone. In contrast,

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[1] See Ibid., p. 47 and fig. XI.

[2] See R. Krautheimer, Early Christian and Byzantine Arch., Baltimore, 1965, p. 85, n. 29 on p. 327.

[3] Ward Perkins, "Shrine of St. Menas," p. 47.

Paulinus had erected a large canopy over the grave of Felix, and not, it would seem, over the altar in the Apostle's church close-by.

There is also, however, evidence at Ephesus that a canopy was erected over the grave of St. John the Evangelist. The supposed grave of the Evangelist at Ephesus seems to have retained over the centuries elements of the original tetrapylon structure that sheltered the tomb in the 4th century.[1] Later, however, in the 5th and 6th centuries, when cross-shaped churches were constructed around the site with the tetrapylon at the center of the crossing, the altar may have stood near the apse, behind the tomb, for services.[2]

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[1] See Forschungen in Ephesos, Österreichischen Archäologischen Inst., Wein, Bd. IV, h. 3, Die Johanneskirche, 1951, p. 224f. The original tetrapylon structures at the tomb seem to fit into the history of tomb monuments in Syria at the 3rd and 4th centuries. The monuments at Dana, Brâd, and elsewhere (see Butler, American Expedition to Syria, 1899-1900, pp. 73-74, 109-111 & Pl. XXV; de Vogüé, Syrie Centrale, Vol. I, pp. 107-117, Vol. II, Pls. 78 & 93) might have been similar types of monuments.

[2] J. Lassus, Sanctuaires Chrétiens de Syrie, Paris, 1947, pp. 149-150 and plan, fig. 65. See also contrary opinions in Forschungen in Ephesos, Johanneskirche, pp. 175f, 186-89, where a canopy is reconstructed over the tomb and altar together (see fig. 49, p. 177).

At the church of St. Demetrius in Salonika, a hexagonal canopy made of silver stood on the left-hand side in the central nave of the church. The sixth-century accounts which describe this structure also suggest what was beneath it: a "bed" made of silver and thrones containing "images" of St. Demetrius and the Lady Eutaxie. Although the church of St. Demetrius was supposed to commemorate the spot where the martyr died, the actual burial place of the martyr was not known. The "relic" of Demetrius in this church was an ampoul that supposedly contained the blood of the martyr. This relic, however, was located in a crypt beneath the sanctuary of the church and not beneath the silver canopy. Thus the canopy did not mark either a tomb or even a relic but may have formed a kind of symbolic "resting place" within the church, a kind of "place of commemoration" for the martyr that was separated from the altar itself. According to the descriptions, the canopy, all in silver, had six sides, spiral columns, and a pointed roof with a cross at the top.[1] It calls to mind the forms and materials used to make the canopy over the tomb of Christ.

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[1] See R. Hoddinott, *Early Byzantine Churches in Macedonia and Southern Serbia*, New York, 1963, p. 128f. and A. Grabar, "Quelques Reliquaires de Saint Démétrios et le Martyrium du Saint à Salonique" in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, V, 1950, pp. 1-28. The text, *Acta S. Demetrii Martyris*, which describes the silver canopy that burned

Thus relics, places of commemoration, and the altar in Eastern churches were clearly separated, a point that has been made many times in the past.[1] But the positions and uses of canopies themselves have been less clearly defined. Although in the two cases cited above a canopy-like structure was raised over a tomb or "place of commemoration," canopies in most cases seem to have been associated only with the altar itself, as at the church

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in the late 6th century (probably in 583) likely dates from the early 7th century (see Cabrol, Leclercq, DACL, art. "Salonique," T. 15, pt. 1 (1950), cols. 639-40 and Hoddinott, p. 132):

> Deinde vero cum in templum esset ingressus, orassetque, vidit sacrum illud pulcherrimumque opus, in medio templi ad sinistram figura sexangulari erectum, columnis sex totidemque lateribus e probato sculptoque argento formatum, similiterque et fastigium, sexangularibus in circuitu lateribus suffultum, et quasi a basi in rotundam colligaturam destinens, argenteamque magnitudinis haud parvae sphaeram superius ferens, sub qua mira, velut cucurbitae, germina continentur, supra quae omnia defixum adversus mortem tropaeum, vivifica, dico, ac veneranda Dei et Servatoris nostri crux, radios ejaculatur, argentea quidem structura corporis oculos percelli faciens, Christi autem consideratione coelestibus gratiis mentis oculos illumnians.
> (cap. X, #82 in Migne, P.G., 116, c. 1265-66.)

This text is discussed by C. Texier and R. Pullan, Byzantine Architecture, London, 1864, p. 123f. who attempt a reconstruction of the monument.

[1] Grabar, Martyrium, Vol. I, pp. 37-43 & chaps. 4 & 5; Lassus, Sanctuaires Chrétiens de Syrie, p. 216.

of St. Menas in Egypt (fig. 65)[1] and in 5th and 6th century churches in Greece,[2] Palestine,[3] and Syria.[4] All of the remains of these canopies show that the structures had four supports.

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[1] Ward Perkins, "The Shrine of St. Menas . . .," p. 33f.

[2] a. Basilica of Nikopolis, Greece, late 5th or early 6th century (E. Kitzinger, "Studies in Late Antique and Early Byzantine Floor Mosaics" in Dumbarton Oaks Papers, VI, 1951, fig. 15).

b. Basilica B. Thebes, late 5th century (J. de Waele, "Scoperti Recenti di archeologia Cristiana nella Grecia," in Atti di Congresso Int. di Arch. Cristiana, III, Rome, 1934, fig. 6).

c. Basilica at Corinth, 5th century (Ibid., fig. 11).

d. Basilica at Samos, 5th century (A. M. Schneider, "Samos in Frühchristlicher, und Byzantinischer Zeit" in Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Inst., Athenische Abt., B. LIV, 1929, pp. 108-09, 122-24).

e. Cathedral of Arnitha, Rhodes, 6th century, de (A. C. Orlandos, "Lat. Monuments Paleochrétiens Découverts ou Etudiés en Grèce de 1938 à 1954" in Actes du Ve Congrès Int. d'Archéologie Chrétienne, Vatican City and Paris, 1957, plan 7, pp. 114-15).

[3] St. Theodore's at Gerasa, late 5th century (Crowfoot, Gerasa, City of the Decapolis, pl. XXXIII & p. 223).

[4] a. Il Anderîn, late 5th century (H. Butler, Early Churches in Syria, Princeton University, 1929, pp. 80 & 212).

b. It Tûba, late 6th century (Ibid., pp. 163-64; Lassus, Sanctuaires Chrétiens de Syrie, pp. 147 and 202).

Both of the authors cited above say that the use of canopies was not general throughout Syria.

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In the 6th century at Constantinople, the famous poem by Paul the Silentiary on Justinian's Church of Hagia Sophia describes a canopy which shelters the main altar of the church.[1] The canopy rose from four silver columns which carried four silver arches, one on each side of the structure. Its roof was a *πύργοσ*, a pyramid formed of eight triangular silver-plated sides with a silver globe at the apex, which was an image of the heavens according to Paul the Silentiary. He tells us, too, that a Cross rested on top of the globe and was the place of propitiation (*propitia sit* or *ἵλαος*). The structure was decorated further with foliage and with twisting or braided ridgework at the edges of the triangular silver plates on the roof. The base of the roof formed a square above the four arcades. Because the roof rose, however, as an octagonal pyramid--almost a cone--the four corners of the square base were left free and were decorated, Paul the Silentiary tells us, with silver craters or bowls, in which candles were placed as symbols rather than a real source of light.

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[1] *Descriptio S. Sophiae* in Migne, *P.G.*, 86 (pt. 2), cols. 2147-48:

> At supra incontaminatam mensam vastum in aerem immensa turris (*πύργοσ*) exsurgit: quadrifides vero argenteis arcubus incumbens argenteis perinde columnis attollitur, in quarum vertice argenteos pedes statuit arcus quadruplex. Supra arcus protenditur veluti coni figura, non tamen ei omnino similis: neque enim in imo teretem rotundae marginis curvaturam circumvolit, sed enascitur quaedam octo lateribus constans basis, quae ex latiore ambitu sensim in acutum fastigium sese sursum exporrigit. Octo vero tabulas argenteas expandit; et qua illae invicem cohaerent, longior spina enascitur: hae trigonis similes octijugis semitae meatus miscent, in unum coeuntes summi apicis signum, ubi et crateribus effigiem ars eduxit: incurvata pooro crateribus labra folii speciem formarunt. Medio autem in loco fulgentem ex argento coeli imaginem imposuit. Supra coelum crux supereminens conspicitur: propitia sit. At supra arcus multiplex spinae circum volutio circa pedem serpit, versus ultimam coni. partem, recta in radios fragranti frondosae pyri silvestris fructui similes, quos multifariam superne fulgoribus coruscantes exhibet: reipsa vero emergunt supra basim.
>
> Qua vero parte invicem juncti basis fines connectuntur, ex argento crateras statuere: in singulis vero crateribus candelabra posuere, seu potius adumbrata cereorum simulacra, ornatum tantum, non vero lumen porrigentia.

This altar canopy, then, made primarily of silver, also contained four supports like the other Eastern canopies we have mentioned. But the description of the roof of the structure adds a few important points. The octagonal pyramid with twisting ridges marking the eight corners, recalls the type of hexagonal roof which covered the Tomb of Christ (see figs. 8, 10). It even had on top the Cross resting on an orb which Paul the Silentiary describes as the Cross, the place of propitiation, resting on the heavens. Now the word *ἵλαος* which Paul uses to characterize the Cross has an evocative background. It certainly denotes the merciful and gracious nature of God,[1] but it might also allude to the place of the appearance of God in the heavens. For the Greek *ιλαστήριον* or Latin *propitiatorium* were words used to describe the "mercy seat," the place where God appeared above the Ark of the Covenant in the Tabernacle.[2] The Cross on the orb had appeared earlier above both the cave and the canopy over the Tomb of Christ. The symbol might have originated at the Tomb and later was used to decorate the *tholoi* in the manuscripts and altar canopies, such as the one at Hagia Sophia. The altar canopy, then, might also be a reflection of the same "Temple of the New Law" as possibly the Tomb of Christ and the *tholos* might have been. The four columns, the craters,[3] and the eight-sided pyramid at S. Sophia might all be derived from the same symbolism that helped to shape the Tomb, the *tholos*, and fountain canopies. Paul the

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[1] As it does in the *Epistle to the Hebrews* 8:12.

[2] This is true in *Ibid.*, 9:5 and in *Exodus* 25, 26, etc. See Du Cange, *Glossiarum*, T. VI, p. 533.

[3] Craters appeared above the columns of the Jewish shrine in the Beth Alpha floor mosaic of the 6th century (fig. 57) and also above the columns behind Christ, who gives Communion to the Apostles on the Paten of Riha (see Lassus, *Sanctuaires Chrétiens de Syrie*, Pl. LIX, 1) of the 6th century.

Silentiary in the paragraph following his description of the canopy at H. Sophia, may refer to the four silver sides of that structure as the expression of one Christ.[1]

This whole interpretation finds support in the 8th century treatise, Rerum Ecclesiastica et Mystica Contemplatio by Germanus, Patriarch of Constantinople. He begins by outlining the many equivalent meanings of the Church in mystical terms:

> Ecclesia est templum Dei, . . . terrenum coelum, in quo supercoelestis Deus inhabitat et inambulat; typum referens affixionis in cruce, et sepulturae et resurrectionis Christi; glorificata supra tabernaculum testimonii Moysis, in patriarcha praefigurata, in apostolis fundata, in qua propitiatorium est et sancta sanctorum: in prophetis praenuntiata, in hierarchis exornata, et in martyribus consummata, . . . domus divina, ubi mysticum vitae sacrificium celebratur, et interiora sacrarii, et sancta spelunca, ubi sepulchrum et mensa nutrix animarum et vivifica.[2]

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[1] Descriptio S. Sophiae, loc. cit.:

> in quattuor vero argenteis lateribus tegminis directe explicantes, numerosae plebi ostendite auri copiam et elegantia exquisitae artis opera; quorum quidem unum Christi vultus imaginem opere variegato expressit.

This suggests a concept akin to the one that may be expressed in the cantharus at St. Peterus, where one faith is sustained by the four columns of the Evangelists. Here the four silver sides, which are veiled, express an image of one Christ. See discussion by Du Cange in Migne, P.G., 86 (2), cols. 2224-2225.

[2] Migne, P.G., 98, cols. 383-86.

Thus, the Church is not only a "Temple" of God, but becomes a kind of sepulchre of Christ, which is glorified more than the Tabernacle of Moses but which still contains a mercy seat (*propitatorium*) and the *sancta sanctorum* like the Jewish Tabernacle and Temple. The sanctuary of the Church becomes the interior cave of the Sepulchre, where the sacrifice of the Eucharist is celebrated and the altar nourishes the spirit. This "Sepulchre" within the Church, which was the place of the altar, is also "Dei sedes, in qua super coelestis Deus super Cherubim vehitur," and

> in qua mensa ut etiam in mystica illa sua coena, in medio apostolorum suorum sedens et accipiens panem et vinum, . . . Sancta mensa est vice mensae Christi cum discipulis, et quae in ea sunt margaritae divina sunt dogmata doctrinae Christi ad discipulos.[1]

The altar, then, is also the place where God appears above the heavens and the Cherubim as He had appeared over the Ark of the Covenant in the Tabernacle. The mystical meal of bread and wine on the altar is shared also by the apostles and disciples, who received the doctrine of Christ through the mystical particles of bread from Christ's altar. Germanus goes on to describe the "ciborium" (*κιβώριον*):

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[1] *Ibid*., cols. 387-388.

> loci ubi Crucifixus est Christus. Verum quia compendio, inducitur crucifixio, sepultura et resurrectio Christi in Ecclesia ita collocatur. Est item et secundum arcam illam testamenti Domini, in qua dicuntur Sancta sanctorum, et ejus sanctificatio, in qua praecepit Deus fieri duo Cherubim utrinque tornatilia.[1]

Germanus adds that the church (or each church) has a mystical Sepulchre of Christ, which was located at the altar and which stands under a *ciborium* within the *sancta sanctorum*. The altar canopy itself would seem according to Germanus to be patterned "after the ark of the testament of the Lord." Germanus goes on to dissect the word *κιβώριον* to show its significance:

> *Cib* est arca, *orium*, illuminatio Domini, aut lumen Dei. Altare, est propitiatorium in quo offerebatur pro peccato . . .[2]

The word can thus be translated "Ark of the Light of God." One editor has suggested that this "translation" and the word itself are derived from two Chaldean words, *Cub* signifying "Ark" and *Ura*, "Light."[3] The altar also becomes the "mercy seat," because on it appear the Body and Blood of Christ. Germanus also mentions later that the _sancta sanctorum_ was enclosed by chancels, because only the priests could enter there[1] (as was also true in Moses's Tabernacle).[2]

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[1] *Ibid.*, cols. 389/390.

[2] *Ibid.*, see discussion of the origins of the word *ciborium* in the Introduction of this study (pp. 4-8) and on pp. 344-48 below.

[3] This is according to the notes of Andreas Gallandi, which Migne prints. The Chaldean words are ביב, *Cub*, and ורא, *Ura*, and are related to Biblical aramaic.

Although this description is extremely interesting, it does date two centuries later than the church of Hagia Sophiae. Germanus, however, seems to bring together in his treatise various concepts which we have attempted to note separately from as far back as the time of Origen and Clement of Alexandria. It might also be pointed out that the section of Germanus's treatise on the "holy meal" of the apostles and disciples might be used to interpret the two 6th century patens showing Christ giving Communion to the apostles. On the Stûma Paten (fig. 66) a canopy with a lamp hanging below it stands above Christ and the altar,[3] whereas on the paten of Riha an upward radiating shell in an arch supported by columns on each side,[1] similar to many of the Jewish monuments cited earlier (see figs. 55, 56, 50, 60), decorates the space above Christ and the altar. Two stone fragments of arcades probably once were parts of canopies belonging to churches at Constantinople possibly as early as the 6th century.[2] Both of these display the apostles at "supper" around the arch, receiving (allegorically, according to Germanus) the doctrine of Christ. One of the fragments also displays above the apostles an angel (one of the Cherubim? Germanus had said that the Cherubim[3] were part of the image) holding an orb and interlaced borders, perhaps similar to the

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[1] Migne, _P.G._, 98, cols. 391/392:

> pars autem interior sive gradus, significat Sancta sanctorum, in quae soli sacerdotes et comites eorum intrent. Cancelli, locum orationis designant, quousque extrinsecus autem sunt sancta sanctorum, solis sacerdotibus pervia.

[2] _Epistle to the Hebrews_ 9:7.

[3] See D. T. Rice, _The Art of Byzantium_, N.Y., Abrams, 1959, pl. 69, p. 304.

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[1] See note 3, p. 311 above.

[2] See Rice, _The Art of Byzantium_, pls. 62 & 63 and p. 301.

[3] Another bit of evidence, possibly supporting the thesis that Germanus's writings reflect earlier traditions, can be found on the _flabellum_, decorated with a "cherubim" at the center and with peacock feathers around the edge and illustrated by Rice, _Ibid_., pl. 68, which he assigns to the 6th century. Germanus wrote in his treatise: _Flabella vero typum referunt Cherubim_. (Migne, _P.G_., 98, col. 419/420) or

> Flabella vero et diaconi, indicant Seraphim sex alis praedita, et multioculorum Cherubim effigiem.

(_Ibid_., col. 431/432).

"twisting ridgework" which bordered the silver plates on the canopy at Hagia Sophia.[1] It is also interesting that a wooden lattice had enclosed the altar at the church of Tyre in the first half of the 4th century according to Eusebius's description.[2] This suggests a system similar to the one described by Germanus, where a chancel set the whole of the sancta sanctorum or sanctuary apart from the rest of the church and made it accessible only to the clergy. A chancel had also completely enclosed the clergy

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[1] According to Rice, The Art of Byzantium, p. 301, this piece is usually assigned to the 8th century because of the interlace borders that appear on it. However, interlace borders appeared on mosaic floors in churches from the 4th century (as at Parenzo and Aquileia, Verzone, Architettura Religiosa . . ., Tav. LIV, LVI.). One remembers not only the "twisted" ornament on the canopy at S. Sophia, but also Origen's homily on the Tabernacle of Moses. Origen had spoken of the "triple cord of faith," which was probably intertwined or braided so as not to break and which symbolizing the Trinity sustained the mystical Tabernacle of the Church:

> Funis enim triplex non rumpitur, quae est Trinitatis fides, ex qua dependet, et per quam sustinetur omnes Ecclesia.

(See p. 272 and note 3 above.)

[2] Eccles. Hist., X, 4, #44:

> placed in the middle the holy of holies, the altar, and that it might be inaccessible to the multitude, enclosed it with wooden lattice-work, accurately wrought with artistic carvings, . . .

(Schaff & Wace, Eusebius, p. 375.) One notes also that the exedrae on each side of the building for catechumens, bench, the canopy, and probably the altar at the basilica of St. Menas near Alexandria. Could the canopy there have become an "ark" of the New Law, honoring the sanctuary of the church, where the Eucharist, the Cross, and the Gospel Book, the sacred witnesses of Christ's doctrine, were kept?[1]

Also dating from the 6th century are two pyxes on which are carved in ivory altars beneath canopy-like structures. Significantly, one of these may actually be a rendition of the ancient Tabernacle of Moses (fig. 67), probably depicted for its prophetic qualities in suggesting the Tabernacle of Christ to come. On the other sides of this pyx are displayed three episodes from the life of Moses.[2] The shrine itself comprises the upward and outward radiating shell, spiral columns, a lamp, two ram's horns, and a table, on which probably appear the Tables

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etc., were patterned after those of Solomon "the maker of the Temple of God" (Ibid., pp. 375-76).

[1] Photius, Homilia III, In Dedicatione Novae Basilicae in Migne, P.G., 102, cols. 571/572, also suggests that Moses's Tabernacle and Solomon's Temple are shadows or figures of the true Church. Grabar, "Recherches sur les Sources Juives de l'Art Paleochrètien" II, p. 150 also cites a Syrian hymn which compares the Church to the Tabernacle.

[2] See Cabrol, Leclercq, DACL, art. "ciborium," Vol. 3, pt. 2, cols. 1594-95, fig. 2920 and Volbach, Elfenbeinarbeiten . . ., #190, p. 86.

of the Law. The altar-like table is very similar to the golden incense altar before the sancta sanctorum at the Hebrew Temple which Zacharias tends in the 7th century illumination at the back of the Etchmiadzin Gospels.[1] It is also remarkably like the four "table altars," upon which appear the four Gospel Books, in the 5th century mosaics at the Baptistery of the Orthodox at Ravenna.[2] The Tables of the Law on the pyx may allude to the Gospels that will be placed later on the Christian altar. The lamp (or is it a golden censer--the thymiaterion?--see what the woman holds in her hand on the pyx from the Metropolitan Museum cited below) and the canopy-like shrine from which it hangs are also similar to a representation of a Christian sanctuary on another pyx of the 6th century, now at the Metropolitan Museum (fig. 68).[3] It is probably again a Gospel Book that appears on this table-altar with five legs. The whole sanctuary seems to echo the Tabernacle of Moses in the other representation and seems to confirm that this, along with the other representations on the patens, refers to the altar and Tabernacle of the New Law. The woman standing beside the shrine in the Metropolitan Museum pyx also seems to make a clear reference to the resurrection of Christ (compare her to the women beside the Tomb on the ampouls, figs. 8-10, 12), which suggests that a direct relationship between the Christian altar and the Resurrection of Christ existed at this time.

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[1] See Le Dournovo, Armenian Miniatures, N.Y., 1961, p. 35 and S. der Nersessian, "La Peinture arménienne au VIIe siècle et les miniatures de L'Evangile d'Etchmiadzin" in Actes du XIIe Congrès Int. d'Etudes Byzantines, III, 1961, pp. 49-57.

[2] See Bovini, Chiese di Ravenna, p. 53.

[3] See Volbach, Elfenbeinarbeiten . . ., #177, p. 82, taf. 55.

The 4th century mosaics from St. Georges at Salonika depict four different kinds of shrines.[1] The Gospel Book appears under one of them and another shelters a gold and jewelled Cross with a clipeus above containing a downward flying dove. These shrines were rendered in a mode of fantasy and revolved like a wheel around the dome of the Church in eight sections. Each of the four shrines portrayed seems to have been repeated once. One can only guess whether these shrines are simply "ideal" renderings of the sancta sanctorum of any church or if they make more direct and imaginatively embellished allusions to the holy sites at Jerusalem. The hexagonal canopy (fig. 69) suggests in some ways the one over Christ's Tomb, standing within a domical building and displaying a jewelled Cross in front of it (the extremities of this are just barely visible). Even more evocative is the peculiar disposition of a sanctuary showing five arcades supported by six columns arranged in a semicircle with lamps suspended beneath each of the arches (fig. 70A). Is it possible that this could represent a cross section of a structure, which might have been totally round and completed in front by six more columns and arches? The resulting form might have looked like the more recent reconstructions[1] of the hemispherium which Eusebius describes as within the Martyrium that Constantine built at the Holy Sepulchre not far from Christ's Tomb (fig. 70B). The hemispherium might even have been conceived in Eusebius's time as a "Temple of the New Law" within the large basilica, conceived in the "most beautiful" round figure[1] and supported by the "pillars" of the twelve apostles.[2] In it, too, would have stood the sacred altar containing the mercy-seat, the propitiatorium, within the sacred precinct of the sancta sanctorum.

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[1] See Texier & Pullan, Pl. XXXII f. and P. 132f; M. van Berchem and E. Clouzot, *Mosaïques Chrétiennes du IVme au Xme Siècle*, Geneva, 1924, p. 67f. Part #5, was completely redone, and, because the other three background designs were all repeated once, it is my guess that the 4th architectural background was also repeated in section #5. Volbach, *Frühchristliche Kunst*, figs. 124-125, pp. 68-69 gives other bibliography. Most all the designs have been altered in some parts due to restorations.

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[1] See J. G. Davies, "Eusebius's Description of the Martyrium at Jerusalem" in American Journal of Archeology, Vol. 61, 1957, pp. 171-73 & Pl. 66; H. Stern, "La Basilique Constantinienne de Jerusalem" in Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France, Paris, 1952-53 (publ. 1955), p. 69.

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[1] St. Jerome, later writing on Ezechial's vision of the Temple, speaks of the beauty of the round figure used in the upper part of the Temple which is like the sun, moon and stars and also the head and eyes, etc., of the human body. Comment. in Ezechielem, Lib. XII, cap. XLI, vs. 8-9f (in Vallarsii ed., op. cit., col. 498):

> Per rotundum autem & per cochleam ascendimus Templi coenaculum, quae figura . . . a Philosophis quoque hujus saeculi pulchrior approbatur: dum & caelum, & sol, & luna, & astra caetera, & punctum terrae; in corporibus quoque humanis, oculi, quasi altera fidera, & figura capitis, quod omnium sensuum receptaculum est, teretesque digiti, & femina, & brachia hanc praeferunt rotunditatem.

According to St. Jerome's interpretation, the "round figure" had stood over the "coenaculum," or dining-room, in the Temple. Thus, it might have been considered an appropriate form to shelter the altar, where the holy meal was served.

[2] The apostles are referred to as "columns" in Galatius 2:9. See also Ephesians 2:20, where the apostles are the "foundations" of the Temple. Both passages are commented on by Origen, In Exodum IX in Migne, P.G., 12, cols. 364-65.

However speculative all this may be, we have only to move back to the West to find still more supporting evidence in the 4th century for the theory that the sanctuary of a church was a mirror of the Jewish Tabernacle and Temple, which in mystical terms had foretold the New Law of Christ.

Chapter Four

ALTAR CANOPIES IN THE WEST

In the year 380, St. Ambrose wrote a letter to Felix, Bishop of Como, who was soon to celebrate the second anniversary of his elevation to the episcopacy.[1] "On that anniversary day," Ambrose writes, "our spirits will accompany you . . . when you enter the second Tabernacle which is called the sancta sanctorum." (Te noster spiritus comitabitur; Tu quoque cum ingredieris secundum Tabernaculum, quod dicitur sancta sanctorum.) He goes on,

> Do as is our custom in order that you may take us with you and . . . burn incense in the golden censer, which is to be found in the second tabernacle. (facito nostro more, ut nos quoque tecum inducas. Cum spiritum adoles aureum illud thymiamaterium, . . . ipsum est enim quod in secundo tabernaculo est.)

Ambrose continues:

> For in that place covered with gold is the Ark of the Testament, which is the doctrine and of the wisdom of God. There, too, is the golden

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[1] Ep. IV, The Latin quotations are from Migne, P.L., 16, cols. 889-890. The English translation that follows is based upon that in St. Ambrose, Letters (Fathers of the Church series), New York, 1954, pp. 102-104.

> vessel for manna . . . ., the rod of Aaron designating the grace of the clergy, which withered in the past, but budded anew in Christ. There are the Cherubim over the tables of the Testament, the wisdom of the sacred scriptures. There, too, is the mercy seat, above which is the Word of God, the image of the invisible God [a reference to Colossians 1, 15] which says to you, "I will speak to you from above the Mercy seat, from between the two Cherubim." (Exodus 25:22) (Ibi arca Testamenti undique auro tecta, id est, doctrina Christi, doctrina sapientae Dei. Ibi dolium aureum habens manna; . . . Ibi virga Aaron insigne sacerdotalis gratiae. Aruerat ante, sed in Christe refloruit. Ibi Cherubim super tabulas Testamenti, lectionis cognito sacrae. Ibi Propitiatorium, supra quod in excelsis Deus Verbum est, imago invisibilis Dei, quod tibi dicit: "Loquar tecum desuper propitiatorium de medio duorum Cherubim.")

In yet another work, De Officiis Ministrorum, Ambrose also wrote (in reference to Numbers 1:50f) that, like the Levites, the priesthood must watch over the Ark of the Covenant. In it Moses saw the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth and the Passion of Christ, but he hid the mysteries of the Passion of Christ in the sacrifice of a lamb or calf.

> Vidit azyma veritatis et sinceritatis, vidit passionem Domini: . . . operuit passionem Domini, agni vel vituli immolatione.[1]

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[1] Lib. I, cap. 50, #260 in Migne, P.L., 16, col. 99. See also De Sacraments, L. IV, where these same images are spoken of in the light of Baptism (Ibid., col. 455f).

Thus the Jewish Ark or Temple clearly seems to become a pattern of Christ's Church for Ambrose, in which appeared the _Sancta sanctorum_ containing the _Holy Bible_, the holy vessels, and the sacrifice of the lamb or the Passion of Christ. As suggested earlier the latter ceremony, the yearly sacrifice of a lamb or calf as a "sin offering" in the Jewish Temple or Tabernacle, where the priest sprinkled the blood of the sacrificed animal on the holy vessels in the _sancta sanctorum_ for the purification of the Jews from their sins,[1] had, according to the Christians, foretold the final sacrifice of Christ for the sins of all men. This ceremony may also have had other implications for the Christians, especially in the West.

The calves for the sin offerings were brought to the Temple and placed on the four altars made of blocks of stone and situated just inside the courtyard. We have discussed both St. Jerome's and St. Ambrose's view of these altars in Part II.[2] The sin and trespass offerings placed in vases upon them were allegorically interpreted by St. Jerome as the remains of martyrs whose souls had been sacrificed for God. Ambrose, too, had likened the calves offered on the sacred altars of the Jews to the souls of the martyrs, placed beneath the altar in Christ's Church, according to Apocalypse 6:9, who were "slain for the Word of God and the testimony which they held." One recalls also that Ambrose was one of the first in Italy to move the remains of holy martyrs to the spot directly beneath an altar at S. Ambrogio. At Rome, too, altars were introduced over the tombs of martyrs in the late 4th century. One wonders if the placing of relics directly beneath the altar might have developed as a result of the growing concept in the Christian Church that the Jewish Temple or Tabernacle offered the concrete forms which expressed the spiritual and heavenly significance of the Church. Might the position of the relics in relation to the altar have been adopted as a reference to the "sin offerings" of the Jews, coupled with the influential passage from Apocalypse, making the symbolism of the holiness and purity of the sancta sanctorum complete? This idea has also been suggested by Josef Braun.[1]

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[1] See _Leviticus_ 1: 1-9; 9: 1-7 and _Epistle to the Hebrews_, 9:7, 11f.

[2] See p. 210f, P. II, above.

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[1] Der Christliche Altar, I, p. 659, n. 13. He proposes that it is like the altar of the Holocausts because

St. Jerome's whole thesis in his Commentary on Ezechial lends support to this view. Even though the treatise was not written until after 410 A.D., Jerome had expressed similar ideas earlier. They appear in summary form in his letter to Fabiola in the year 397,[1] but possibly might also have occurred in other letters, no longer extant, accompanying the Vulgate translations of the Old Testament, which Jerome circulated. In his Commentary on Ezechiel Jerome's vision of the House of God, the Church, clearly reflects the Tabernacle and Temple, paralleling many of the features outlined by Ambrose above:

> In illa domo, hoc est, in tabernaculo quod fabricatus est Moyses, & in templo quod a Salome constructum est, interiora tantum, ubi erant Cherubim, & propitiatorium, & arca Testamenti, & mensa thymiamatis, appellabantur Sancta Sanctorum. In hac autem domo quae monstratur Ezechieli, . . . omnes termini ejus reputantur in Sancta Sanctorum.[2]

His discussion of the Holocaust altars with roofs over them as containing vases in which were put the sacrifice

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the blood of the sacrificial bulls was poured out at the foot of that altar. See also Goldschmidt, Paulinus's Churches at Nola, p. 140, note on l. 402, C.27.

[1] Ep. LXIV in Migne, P.L., 22, col. 612-613.

[2] Lib. XIII, cap. XLIII (ed. Vallarsii, col. 525-26).

of the martyrs adds only another element to the total concept.[1]

But one question arises with regard to the symbolic use in the Christian Church of the Hebrew altar of the Holocaust placed outside the Temple and the altar of incense (the *mensa thymiamatis*) placed in front of the Ark of the Covenant inside the Tabernacle or Temple. Origen had attempted to explain this discrepancy in his opening homilies on *Leviticus*, suggesting that the Body and Blood of Christ was carried from the "Holocaust altar" outside the "Temple" where the sacrifice occurred, to the Eucharistic altar inside the church.[2] Gregory the Great also noted this distinction at the end of the 6th century, in his 10th *Homili in Ezechielem*.[3]

Paulinus of Nola, too, at the end of the 4th century, draws parallels between the Christian altar and the Ark of the Covenant in a verse which he wrote for Severus's churches:[4]

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[1] See Part II, p. 211, and n. 1 above.

[2] See Part III, p. 269, and n. 1 above, and Appendix B, n. 2, p. 355.

[3] Liber II, Hom. X, #20-21 in Migne, *P.L.*, 76, cols. 1070-71.

[4] Ep. 32, #7 in *Corpus Script. Eccl.*, 29, p. 283.

Divinum veneranda tegunt altaria foedus
Conpositis sacra cum cruce martyribus.

The sacred place, too, is again where the relics of martyrs are placed:

Cuncta salutiferi coeunt martyria Christi,
Crux corpus sanguis martyris, ipse deus,

Paulinus had also called the spot beneath the altar of his Apostle's Church at Nola the sancta sanctorum, where a fragment of the wood of the True Cross was placed along with relics of the apostles.[1] And the verses for the Apostle's Church which describe the purpose of the two "sacristies," or the two semi-circles of the trefoil apse that open to each side of the altar in the center, indicate their affinity with the sacred vessels kept in the Ark in the Tabernacle. To the right of the apse is where the "venerable viands" and vessels for divine services were kept, and, to the left, are copies of the Holy Scriptures, the "New Law," where anyone "with the holy desire to mediate the Law, . . . will . . . be able to apply himself to the Holy Scriptures."[1]

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[1] Ep. 32, #11 in Goldschmidt, Paulinus's Churches at Nola, pp. 38 & 40:

hic titulus indicat deposita sub altari sancta sanctorum:

Hic pietas, hic alma fides, hic gloria Christi,
hic est martyribus crux sociata suis.
....
Sancta deo geminum velant altaria honorem,
cum cruce apostolicos quae sociant cineres.
Quam bene iunguntur ligno crucis ossa piorum,
pro cruce ut occisis in cruce sit requies!

The possibility that the Ark of the Covenant and related objects in the Jewish tradition may have provided a model for forms used in Christian sanctuaries both in the East and the West seems evident. But did this apparent borrowing become involved particularly with the use of Christian canopies in the West? We have already suggested through the writings of Paul the Silentiary and of Germanus, Patriarch of Constantinople, with his description of the "ciborium" as the "Ark of Light," and from remains and representations of canopies in the East, that the canopy in the East may have been part of the Christian image of the Ark of the New Law of Christ. Might this also be true in Italy, where we have seen the canopy develop primarily from a shelter for a venerated tomb to an altar canopy?

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[1] Ep. 32, #16 in Ibid., pp. 44-45:

> In secretariis vero duobus quae supra dixi circa absidem esse, hi versus indicant officia singulorum.
>
> a dextra absidae:
> Hic locus est, veneranda penus qua conditur
> et qua promitur alma sacri pompa ministerii.
> a sinistra eiusdem:
> Si quem sancta tenet meditandi in lege voluntas,
> hic poterit residens sacris intendere libris.

We remember that Ambrose mentioned the "Ark of the Testament," the Mercy Seat, and the Cherubim as part of his image of the *sancta sanctorum* about 380 A.D. We can also recall his use of a canopy over the altar and relics of martyrs at S. Ambrogio about 386 A.D., coupled with his view of relics as a part of the "holocaust altar" of the Hebrews. Isn't it possible that Ambrose's altar and tomb canopy resulted from a fusion of both traditions? Whether the altar-tomb-canopy combinations in the Roman catacombs indicate an incorporation of Jewish forms into the Christian ritual, perhaps introduced through Damasus who made extensive alterations in the catacombs, or whether they simply resulted from the new emphasis on the Eucharist in the services for the dead must remain an unanswered question. One can only say that it seems quite possible, in view of the writings of St. Jerome, St. Ambrose, and Paulinus of Nola and the appearance of the *cantharus* and the atrium at St. Peter's in the late 4th century, that the image of the Jewish Temple and Tabernacle could have influenced the arrangement of a canopy over a Tomb and an altar together at Rome, an arrangement that suggests a fusion of elements from the Roman and Eastern traditions.

We recall also that at Ravenna a tradition in which the altar alone was covered by a canopy began probably as early as the 5th century.[1] At the Basilica Ursiana, the altar was dedicated to the Anastasis, the Resurrection of Christ, and was sheltered by a wooden canopy, probably sometime during the 5th or possibly as late as the early 6th century. Since the altar was dedicated to the place of Christ's Resurrection, it could have been a direct reference to the Eucharist, the Body and Blood of Christ from His Tomb, placed on the altar of the Cathedral, not only as part of His Sacrifice but possibly, also, as contained within the "Temple of the New Law." By this time the same thing may have occurred in Eastern churches, and Ravenna seems always to have had links with the East.[2] Ambrose had also by this time referred to the Passion of Christ as a mystery hidden in the forms of the purification sacrifices of the Jewish Tabernacle, and the writing of the Church fathers in the East had equated the New Tabernacle and the Church. The mosaics at St. Georges in Salonika had also suggested a possible link between the sites of Christ's Passion and Christ's New Temple or the Church. The naming of the altar at the Basilica Ursiana after Christ's Tomb at Jerusalem may also fit in with the building activity at near-by Bologna in the 5th century. There, a martyr's church and possibly a complex of chapels in a Christian cemetery may have been dedicated to or called "Jerusalem."[1] Eusebius in the early 4th century had actually called the buildings at the Holy Sepulchre the "New Jerusalem."[2]

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[1] See Part II, p. 238 f. above.

[2] See Smith, The Dome, p. 148.

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[1] The problem of whether the buildings at S. Stefano, Bologna were related to the complex at the Holy Sepulchre is discussed by Krautheimer, "Iconography of Medieval Architecture," pp. 17-20 and Porter, Lombard Architecture, II, p. 124f. It is mainly tradition and legend that links the dedication of this structure to "Jerusalem" or the "New Jerusalem" with the 5th century Bishop of Bologna, S. Petronio. Yet tradition and legend are sometimes based on a kernel of truth, and it seems possible, in view of the dedication at Ravenna and later in the century at the Oratory of the Holy Cross at the Lateran, that the dedication could have originated in the 5th century.

[2] Vita Constantini, III, 33 in Schaff & Wace, Eusebius, p. 529:

> on the very spot which witnessed the Saviour's sufferings, a new Jerusalem was constructed, over against the one so celebrated of old, ... And it may be that this was that second and new Jerusalem spoken of in the predictions of the prophets, concerning which such abundant testimony is given in the divinely inspired records.

By the 6th century at Ravenna, the designs on several altars suggest that they may have been built specifically to suggest the form of an "Ark." Although the original altar erected by Galla Placidia at S. Giovanni Evangelista may have been simply a table with five supports, it was in the 6th century enclosed by a marble screen, which is still partially in existence and which, according to the inscription at the bottom of it, was called an "Ark" (*Archam*).[1] The decoration on the front of this altar, made up of inset marbles, is arranged in the form of an arch flanked by columns (fig. 71A). The outlines of this decoration resemble those of a 6th century altar, now in the chapel at the end of the right aisle of S. Giovanni Evangelista. The support of this altar (fig. 71B) is elaborately carved and seems to fill in some of the details from the design on the other altar. Here the familiar upward and outward radiating shell fills the space inside the "tympanum." Spiral columns support the arch on each side, and below the shell is a "doorway" containing a large Cross and coffers. The whole image is very close to some of the designs for Jewish shrines, such as the rendering of the Ark at Dura (fig. 55) or the shrine on the Pekiin placque (fig. 56). This second altar design, although it differs from the other in not having an opening below the central arch, suggests that the other altar at S. Giovanni Evangelista may indeed have been designed to be an "archa" of the New Law, upon which was placed the mensa that held the Body and Blood of Christ for services. If altars at Ravenna were considered to be "Arks" of the New Law, the whole sanctuary might have been considered as part of the heavenly Tabernacle. Thus, the objection that a canopy at S. Vitale would be superfluous under the mosaic vault of the heavens over the sanctuary there[1] seems less significant if the canopy were viewed as one of the parts of the "Tabernacle" beneath the "heavens."

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[1] See Braun, *Der Christliche Altar*, I, pp. 168 and 196 with measurements and a complete description of the altar. The altar, as it is today, is a restoration. Its marble inlays were removed in the 19th century. See C. Ricci, "Resti di Altare Antichi" in *Bolletino d'Arte*, Vol. II, 1908, pp. 212-213. The inscription on the front reads:

+ Sce Johann archam XPI
accepta tibi sit oratio servi tui

(Braun, *Der Christl. Altar*, I, p. 168). My notes, taken from the altar, record the inscription this way:

ESCPIOHANNARCHAMXPI
ACCEPTA*T*IBISITORATIOSERVITUI

Perhaps the little mark below the *T* in TIBI indicates that it should be used twice, forming possibly ACCEPTAT TIBI etc.

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[1] See K. Wessel, "S. Vitale in Ravenna" in Zeitschrift fur Kunstgeschichte, XXII, 1959, pp. 201-51.

Designs similar to those at S. Giovanni Evangelista appear on the central supports of other altars at Ravenna and elsewhere in Italy.[1] These seem distinct in design from the simple fenestella-shaped openings such as that at S. Alessandro in Rome (fig. 20) because of the addition of the shell and the architectural framework around it. The 6th century altar at S. Apollinare Nuovo, which may have been sheltered by a canopy, displays only the roughest outlines of a design suggested by insets of colored marble. It also contained a recess within the central space beneath a triangular block (fig. 71C) suggesting a pediment over the opening with doors standing ajar to each side of it. This recess had also contained indentations, arranged in the shape of a cross, for vessels.[2] Scholars have suggested that these vessels must have contained relics of some kind (possibly _brandea_). But was this always the case? If these altars were designed as parallels to the Ark of the Covenant, might they, like the Jewish Ark, have held the holy vessels for the Host, or for the reserved portions of the Host within them?[1] Might the opening in the altar have served as a kind of symbolic cave of the Sepulchre of Christ? We recall Germanus's later description at Constantinople of the altar of the Church as a symbolic "cave" of the Tomb of Christ (the *sancta spelunca*): *Sancta Mensa est vice loci sepulturae, in quo positus est Christus*.[2] Ambrose, too, had mentioned that the Passion of Christ was "within the Ark."[3]

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[1] See Braun, _Der Christliche Altar_, I, Taf. 11, an altar now in the Baptistery of the Orthodox, which probably originally belonged to the Cathedral (p. 148); and Taf. 12, an altar from S. Apollinare in Classe (p. 148). See also Taf. 9 for a 6th century altar base from Parenzo in Italy (p. 146-47) and an altar base from Rome, S. Maria del Priorato, which seem related in design to the Ravenna altars.

[2] _Ibid_., p. 197 and Taf. 102.

The 6th century pyx decorated with scenes from the life of Moses, cited before (fig. 67), shows a vessel standing below the "table-altar" in the Tabernacle. Was it to contain the water or blood for purification and sacrifice in the Hebrew Tabernacle? If it alludes to the cleansing ceremonies of the Jews, it might foretell the Passion of Christ in the two "streams" that seem to fall from the altar supports, suggesting a prophecy of the blood and water from Christ's side, which also flows into the Eucharistic cup. One wonders why this vessel appears under the altar. Possibly this might be an indication that vessels for the Eucharist were placed beneath the altar. There is little evidence to support such a point,[1] but it remains a possibility since relics in the East and at Ravenna were usually kept separate from the altar itself. But an altar at Bagnacavallo near Ravenna contains a cavity in the shape of a half-circle as well as a lower square opening also,[2] and Braun's illustration of the altar at S. Giovanni Evangelista, inscribed as an "archa," shows the same kind of opening in the shape of a half-circle within the arch.[3] Possibly the presence of the two openings indicates that these altars served a double purpose, sheltering both relics and vessels for the Host.

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[1] Scholars in the past seem to have sometimes confused these vessels with a larger canopy structure (See Appendix B).

[2] *Rerum Eccl. et Mystica Cont*. in Migne, *P.G*., 98, col. 387/388.

[3] See Part III, p. 326 and n. 1 above. Maximus of Turin also wrote about the altar in the same sermon quoted in n. 1, p. 341 below. "ibi martyribus sepultura decreta est, ubi mors Domini quotidie celebretur."

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[1] See Du Cange's commentary on Paul the Silentiary's description of S. Sophia in Constantinople in Migne, P.G., 86, pt. 2, col. 2214 where he discusses the interpretation of Goare on receptacles for water placed around the altar to parallel the cleansing ceremonies of the Jews. See also Gregory of Tours description in n. 2, p. 302 above and Rohault de Fleury, La Messe, II, p. 62 where he suggests the possibility that the opening in the altar at S. Giovanni Evangelista, marked ARCHAM, was the place where the reserves of the Host were kept.

[2] Braun, Der Christliche Altar, I, Taf. 1 and pp. 223-24, thinks that this upper niche was "ersichtlich Reliquiengrab."

[3] Ibid., p. 196. I do not know what the basis for

The custom that seems to have been prevalent in most of Italy, at Milan, Rome, Nola, etc., was clearly outlined at Turin in the later 5th century. Bishop Maximus of Turin states the policy of his diocese in these words:

> Recte ergo sub ara martyres collocantur, quia super aram Christus imponitur. Recte sub altare justorum animae requiescunt, quia super altare Domini corpus offertur.[1]

In view of this tradition in most of Italy, one cannot exclude the possibility that the altars at Ravenna with _fenestella_-like openings might have held relics or _brandea_ of martyrs within the recess in their supports, perhaps along with vessels for the Host, or possibly some were used as side altars for the commemoration of martyrs, separate from the main altars in the churches in which they stood.[2]

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his reconstruction is. However, the altar could have had this cavity before its marble inlays were removed in the 19th century. See n. 1, p. 336 above.

[1] Sermon LXXVII in Migne, _P.L._, 57, col. 689-90.

[2] No matter which interpretation one favors, there still remain many unanswered questions. The altar in the chapel at the end of the right aisle of S. Giovanni

Thus there is no direct evidence in Italy or in adjacent countries to indicate that a canopy formed a necessary part of the sancta sanctorum, or the sanctuary of a church in that area. We have observed in Parts I and II that the canopy in the West usually accompanied relics or perhaps brandea or ampouls from venerated tombs. This seems to have remained just a funereal canopy, which may, however, after the late 4th century, have taken on an association with the Holocaust altars of the Hebrews. The 10th Homily of Pope Gregory the Great on the Book of Ezechial indicates that the Jewish forms in the Tabernacle or Temple, may, indeed, have been considered applicable to Church forms at Rome at the end of the 6th century.[1] By the 9th century, the Liber Pontificalis records that Paschal (817-24) and Leo IV (847-55) both gave gifts to Roman churches of a propitiatorium altaris of hammered silver, often accompanied by decorations of the Confession of the altar and a silver ciburium above.[2] The propitiatorium or "Mercy-Seat" probably means here as it did for

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Evangelista, for example, has no opening at all. The altar with two openings leaves questions about the need for or purpose of the two openings.

[1] See N. 3, p. 330 above.

[2] Under Paschal (817-24) in Duchesne, L.P., II:

Germanus, Patriarch of Constantinople in the 8th century, the mensa of the altar, on which appeared the Body and Blood of Christ. It might have been Germanus's image that was transmitted to the West.[1] But, again, many features of that image had existed separately in the West

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1. p. 53:

> Propitatorium ergo altaris ex lamminis argenteis exornantes circumduxit atque sacram confessionem eius interius exteriusque cum rugulis suis nobilissime circumstruxit, qui simul pens. lib. . . .

2. p. 55:

> Fecit autem in eadem ecclesia [S. Prassede] ciburium ex argento, pens. lib DCCCCX; immo et propitiatorium sacri altaris ex argenteis lamminis mirafice exornavit.

3. p. 57 (at S. Cecilia):

> et ciburium mire magnitudinis ex argento, pens. lib. DC, unc. VIII; propitiatorium denique sacri altaris seu confessionem interius exteriusque cum rugulis suis ex lamminis argenteis mirum in modum perficiens compsit, qui simul pens. lib. CLIIII, unc. XV.

4. p. 62:

> pontifex fecit propitiatorium sacri altaris beati Petri apostolorum principis, ubi sacratissimum eius corpus quiescit, spanoclistum ex auro fulvo, cum diversis storiis depictum atque mirifice decoratum, pens. lib. CC.

Under Leo IV (847-55), p. 134:

> pontifex fecit propitiatorium sacri altaris beati Petri apostolorum principis . . .

[1] Cherubim had decorated a ciborium at St. Peter's in Rome in the early 9th century under Leo III, according

before this, even though they may have not yet been all combined together.

It seems significant that the *Vita* of Gregory the Great in the *Liber Pontificalis* was the first to use the word *cyburium* to describe a Christian canopy.[1] Gregory of Tours had also used the word in the West about the same time to describe the canopy over St. Peter's tomb (*ciborium sepulcri*) before Gregory the Great's remodelling project.[2] An entry in the *Liber Pontificalis* of Naples (c. 550-60) also uses the word *cyburi* for what is probably an altar canopy.[3] John of Malalas had used a similar word in Greek, *κιβο̄υριον*, (c. 565 A.D.) to describe what was probably an altar canopy also.[4] If the word *ciborium* was derived from the words *cub* + *ura*, possibly from a Chaldean or Aramaic root, to signify the "Ark of the Light of God"

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to the *Liber Pontificalis* (Duchesne, II, p. 15):

> et in basilica ipsius apostoli fecit Cherubim ex argento purissimo de auratos IIII, quo stant super capita columnarum argentearum sub cyburio, pens. lib. XCIII.

One recalls the reliefs of angels which decorated a *ciborium* arch at Constantinople (see n. 2, p. 317 above) and wonders if the Cherubim at St. Peter's took a similar form.

[1] See Part I, p. 181 above.

[2] See Part I, n. 2, p. 181 above.

[3] See Part II, p. 252 above.

[4] *Chronographia*, Lib. XVIII in Migne, *P.G.*, 97,

as Germanus, Patriarch of Constantinople, says,[1] it might have been born with the Eastern concepts of the altar canopy as the "Ark" of the New Law.[2] It may be significant that both *cyburium*, used in the *Vita* of Gregory and Vincentius of Naples in the West, and *κιβοῦριον* used by John of Malalas are actually closer to the transliteration of *cub* + *ura* than the words *ciborium* or *κιβώριον*, which became the accepted spellings of the words later.

When the concept of the canopy as the "Ark" was transmitted to the Western world, probably by the pontificate of Gregory the Great as his own writings indicate, the word itself may also have been imported from the East to the West as a means of describing the true significance of the structure. Thus a "true" *ciborium* in this sense may not have existed in the West until the 6th century,

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cols. 707/708. Braun, *Der Christliche Altar*, II, p. 191 discusses this passage in reference to the word *κιβώριον*.

[1] See n. 2, p. 315 above.

[2] This interpretation is, as is usually the case with broad generalizations, a simplification. The Greek word *κιβώριον* must have signified a shrine of some sort according to John Chrysostom's use of the term in his *In Acta Apostolorum Hom*. 42 (in Migne, *P.G.*, Vol. 60, col. 297/98, vs. 27) referring to a small silver structure for the Goddess Diana at Ephesus.

although fountain canopies may have already borne much of the same significance as did the Eastern ciboria.

L'Orange, Klauser, and Egger have all suggested that the Christian "ciborium" was adopted from the canopy that sheltered the Roman emperor in basilicas or audience halls. The altar, then, was viewed as a kind of "throne" of Christ within the church sheltered by its sacred, perhaps cosmic, shrine. Almost all of the evidence given here suggests that the Christian altar was viewed rather as the "tomb" or "ark" of Christ, even though some individual exceptions may occur. By the tenth century, we recall, the word "ciborium" was actually used to describe a structure that probably sheltered the throne of the Emperor at Constantinople. However, rather than reflecting an ancient usage of the word, I feel that the word was adopted here to reaffirm the all-encompassing authority of the Emperor himself as a ruler of God's kingdom on earth.[1]

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[1] In the early 10th century, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Cerimoniis Aulae Byzantinae*, L. I, c. 16, uses the term to apply to a structure erected over the throne of the emperor in the *Consistorium* of the royal palace. That the term might have been adopted from Church architecture to give the throne canopy added significance is suggested in Migne, *P.G.*, 112, col. 317/318, n. 29, where a Hebrew origin of the word *κιβώριον* as the Ark of the Covenant is also suggested.

The word *κιβώριον* also appeared in seventh century accounts describing the hexagonal silver canopy in the nave of St. Demetrius at Salonika. Later, in the tenth century, the canopy was usually described as either a *κιβωτόν* or *σορόσ*, which is a coffin, perhaps referring to the sarcophagus containing the body of St. Demetrius that was supposed to have been discovered on that spot.[1] The word *κιβωτόν* may come from *κιβωτόσ*, which is the Greek word not only for chest or box but also for the Ark of the Covenant. The earlier, sixth-century, *κιβώριον* of St. Demetrius, however, contained neither a grave or relic but was perhaps a kind of "symbolic" shrine whose form was possibly based on the canopy over Christ's tomb. And in that place the canopy over the Tomb of Christ, erected in the fourth century, commemorated both a tomb and the place signifying the "Tabernacle" of the New Law.

But these interpretations become more complicated when one finds that the Hebrew *qeber* means "grave" as does the Syrian *ke bôrâ* or the Greek *κιβουρι*.[2] We recall that one early text, that of Gregory of Tours describing St. Peter's, uses the word ciborium to describe a canopy that shelters the grave of an apostle, not an altar. Thus, Near Eastern words which refer to either a "grave" or an "ark" might be linked to the origins of the word "ciborium."

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[1] See Grabar, "Reliquaires . . .," p. 20f.

[2] See Heisenberg, *Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche*, I, p. 219 and Eisler, *Orphisch-Dionys. Mysterienge-danken* . . ., p. 196, n. 2.

At any rate, the Western tomb-canopy and the Eastern "Tabernacle" canopy could easily have become associated and intermingled with one another because they embodied easily associable ideas; the first marks primarily a venerated tomb; the second marks in essence the Tomb of Christ as the Tabernacle of the New Law within the Church. The Tomb of Christ thus represents a blending of the tomb-canopy and the "Tabernacle" canopy from the very beginning. The East, thereafter, seems to stress the tradition of Christ's Tomb as the Tabernacle of the New Law, adopted symbolically in the sanctuary of every church, whereas in the West the use of the tomb-canopy was extended to cover specially venerated tombs of apostles and martyrs. As the liturgy and ritual at these venerated tombs was crystallized, rooting out objectionable elements and adding new dimensions to the meaning of the Eucharistic ritual itself, the tomb-canopy may have acquired new significance through the sacrifice of the Eucharist celebrated below it which related it more directly to Christ's Tomb.[1] Eventually, as the Eastern interpretation of Christ's Tomb and canopy as the "Tabernacle of the New Law" spread throughout Christendom, it could easily have been added to the significance of the tomb-canopy to encompass both traditions within a single form.

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[1] See p. 341 above on Maximus of Turin's statement about this.

APPENDIX A

The word _fastigium_ seems actually to have been used to describe a structure in the area of the double screen of columns in front of the confession and presbytery at St. Peter's in the early 9th century. It appears in an entry of the _Liber Pontificalis_ under the reign of Leo III:

> Praesentim imago Salvatoris cum regiis mire pulchritudinis depictae ad decorem suprascripte ecclesiae (St. Peter's), in fastigio sub arco maiore posuit.[1]

There seems little doubt that this _fastigium_ occupied a central position, either in front of the apse or in or at the entrance to the transept. A second text of the later 9th century, mentioned by Du Cange,[2] also refers to a _fastigium_ at St. Peter's. St. Paschasius, the Abbot of Corvey c. 868, wrote an epitaph of an 8th century Abbot of Corvey, St. Adalhardus. He writes of Adalhardus's remains, which were buried at St. Peter's:

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[1] Duchesne, _L.P._, II, p. 1.

[2] Du Cange, _op. cit._, Tom. III, p. 420, who interprets _fastigium_ here to signify _turris_.

> Sepulta sunt autem decenter membra charissimi senis in basilica beati Petri apostoli sub fastigio inter ejusdem medioximae quatuor ecclesiae centra.[1]

This text would seem to describe the same fastigium as that in the Liber Pontificalis, for it designates a similar position, in the very "middle of the church," probably in the transept where the four main roofs join together. A third text, cited also by Du Cange, seems to indicate that this is the correct position. This text mentions the sepulchre of St. Adalhardus si quidem sepultus . . . ante gradum cancelli.[2] Thus, the tomb of St. Adalhardus and the fastigium above it seem to have occupied a position somewhere within the screen of twelve columns, connected by chancels, that stood before the confession and the steps to the presbytery at St. Peter's. This double row of columns carried silver architraves above and various images.[3] One wonders if the columnar

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[1] De Vita S. Adalhardi, 87 in Migne, P.L., CXX, col. 1552.

[2] Du Cange, loc. cit.

[3] See Duchesne, op. cit., I, p. 417 under the life of Gregory III (713-41):

> Hic concessas sibi columnas VI onichinas volutiles ab Eutychio exarcho, duxit eas in ecclesiam beati Petri apostoli, quas statuit erga

screen itself might have been the _fastigium_ in question. Might the screen possibly have been erected as an imitation of the earlier Lateran _fastigium_? One can only speculate because there are no extant records of the Lateran _fastigium_ after that of the 5th century in the _Liber Pontificalis_. The screen at St. Peter's with one row of columns was put up at the end of the 6th century under Gregory the Great.

Another 9th century text, the Life of Gregory the Great by John the Deacon, refers to the silver ciborium which Gregory gave to St. Peter's as a _fastigium_.[1] There

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> presbyterium, ante confessionem, tres a dextris, tres a sinistris, iuxta alias antiquas sex filopares. Super quas posuit trabes et vestivit eas argento mundissimo, in quo sunt expresse ab uno latere Dei genetricis et sanctorum virginem; posuitque super eas lilia et faros argenteos, pensantes in unum libras DCC.

See also the description of the 6 images plated with silver, placed above supports (of chancel railings?) at the entrance to the presbytery under the life of Hadrian (772-95), _Ibid_., p. 503.

[1] Lib. IV in Migne, _P.L._, LXXV, col. 221 (on the gifts of Gregory):

> . . . in basilica beati Petri apostoli fastigium de argento purissimo, quod, a Leone Tertio pontifice in basilica Sixtiana sanctae Mariae nomini dedicata translatum est, fabricavit, et in basilica beati Pauli apostoli super altare nihilominus aliud fastigium procuravit.

is no doubt that some later medieval writers used the words *fastigium* and *ciborium* as synonyms.[1] This, however, does not occur, to my knowledge, before the above text of John the Deacon. Since John obviously used the *Liber Pontificalis* as a source, might he have adopted the word *fastigium* from its use in that document, assuming that the Lateran *fastigium* was a ciborium? Or might he have used the word because he knew from some other source that Gregory had given a *fastigium* to St. Peter's. This might have been the columnar screen before the apse, but John might have confused it with the silver canopy. The uses of the word *fastigium* are varied enough to leave its precise significance in these cases an uncertainty.

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[1] See Du Cange, *op. cit*., Tom. II, p. 323, under *ciborium*. He cites a 12th century text of Raynerius, *Historia* Translationis SS. Martyr. Eutecetis et Acutii, which refers to *fastigium, . . . quod vulgo ciborium dicitur*.

APPENDIX B

It has been suggested that the niche, crowned by a pediment and flanked by colonnettes (fig. 72), which stood in the back wall of the apse of a small chapel at Spoleto, the so-called "Temple of Clitumne" also of the 5th century, may have served the purpose of providing space for the sacred vessels and reserves of the Eucharist.[1] If so, it probably stood directly behind and above the altar in the small space of the apse. Rohault de Fleury has already suggested that this was an "armarium"[2] which was like the sacred Jewish shrines that held the sacred vessels and scrolls for Synagogue services.

In the East pyxes, which were used to hold the reserve wafers of the Eucharistic bread, are known from the 5th century on.[3] The Western equivalent of this is less clear. St. Ambrose speaks of a golden vessel, a dolium, which held the mannah in the sancta sanctorum of the Church, no doubt a prefiguration of the Eucharistic bread. This vessel probably contained the reserved wafers of the Host. One wonders where this vessel was placed on or around the altar. At Nola, Paulinus clearly located the sacred vessels in the apse to the right of the altar of the apostle's church.

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[1] See Rohault de Fleury, La Messe, Vol. II, p. 8 & 60f & Pl. XCI. See also P. Frutaz, "Il Tempietto del Clitumno" in Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana, XVIII, 1941, pp. 245-64.

[2] Rohault de Fleury, La Messe, II, pp. 62-65 & p. 1.

[3] See Volbach, Elfenbeinarbeiten . . ., p. 77f (The examples cited date from the 5th century and later.) That pyxes

Scholars have suggested in the past that the Eucharistic wafers may have been hung in a vessel from the center of a canopy over the altar. Du Cange cites evidence for this in the 11th century,[1] but there seems to be none before that. As earlier evidence, he and others cite the passage from Gregory of Tours's De Gloria Martyrum,[2]

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existed from the second half of the 4th century is suggested by a document from the Council of Ancryanum (in Galatia) of ca. 360 A.D.:

> Quemadmodum pyxis est proprie vocatur quae ex buxo fabricata est; & tamen communi quadem abusione vocis hinc ad reliqua id genus vasa transfertur, quae ex plumbo, aere, aliave materia facta sunt. (Mansi, Ampl. Coll. Concil., Vol. III, col. 275.)

[1] See Descriptio S. Sophiae in Migne, P.G., 86, pt. 2, col. 2223 and A. Martigny, Dictionnaire des Antiquités Chrétiennes, Paris, 1889, art. "Ciborium," pp. 172-73.

[2] Cap. 86, "De diaconi cui turris inter manus effugivit" in Migne, P.L., 71, col. 781-82:

which mentions the case of a deacon who was carrying the vessel in which "the mystery of the Body of Christ"was placed. As he entered the church and walked toward the altar, he dropped the vessel, perhaps because of his own sinfulness. This vessel which was of bronze (*aera*) was called a "turris," perhaps causing it to be considered by some scholars to be linked to a larger structure like a canopy. More likely, according to this and other descriptions of the *turris*,[1] it was a container within a

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> tempus ad sacrificium offerendum advenit, acceptaque turre diaconus in qua mysterium dominice corporis habebatur, ferre coepit ad ostium, ingressusque templum ut eam altari superponeret, de manu ejus ferebatur in aera,et sic ad ipsam aram accedens, nunquam eam manus diaconi potuit assequi quod non alia credemus actum de causa, nisi quia pollutus erat in conscientia.

Another who cites this passage in connection with the *ciborium* is Rohault de Fleury, *La Messe*, II, p. 63.

[1] Venantii Hon. Clem. Fortunatus in *Miscellanea*, Lib. III, c. 25 writes a verse "Ad Felicem episcopum Biturigensem, scriptum in turrem ejus." This vessel, which holds the Body of the Lamb, is compared to topaz vessels of Solomon.

> Quam bene juncta decent, sacrati ut corporis agni
>   Margaritum ingens aurea dona ferant.
> Cedant chrysolitis Salominia vasa metallis,
>   Ista placere magis ars facit, atque fides.

(Migne, *P.L.*, 88, cols. 144-45.) The *Missa de Sancto Sigismondo pro Frigoriticis* in Migne, *P.L.*, 71, col. 1185 speaks of the blessing of the chalices, patens, and *turris* for the Eucharist:

tower-like shape, not unlike a pyx.[1] It sounds as if the Host was brought to the altar at Tours for Eucharistic services in this vessel; then, perhaps, the wafers were transferred to a paten for the service itself.

Vessels in which the reserves of the Host were withheld were mentioned by another 5th century Bishop of Tours, Perpetuus. He writes of a "peristerium, et columbam argenteam ad repositorium,"[2] which were given to the priest Amalarius, but again there is no reason to associate these vessels with a canopy over the altar. The third canon of the Council of Tours in 567 A.D. offers the only clue to where these vessels may actually have been placed:

> Ut corpus Domini in altari, non in imaginario ordine, sed sub titulo crucis componatur.[3]

> Precamur te, Domine, tuam majestatem, et hunc calicem, patenam et turrem, in quo celebraturi sumus sacrosancta mysteria, . . .

[1] This is the interpretation of Volbach, Elfenbeinarbeiten . . ., p. 77.

[2] See Migne, P.L., 71, col. 1151. This is the passage which Martigny, op. cit., p. 172, uses in particular to suggest that the ciborium was made up of two parts: a smaller structure resting upon a larger one. The word peristerium seems to be derived from the Greek word for "dove," whereas columba is the Latin word for "dove."

[3] See Mansi, Ampl. Coll. Concil., Vol. 9, col. 793 and notes, cols. 806-07. Rohault de Fleury, La Messe, II, p. 63 discusses this canon and gives an alternate version,

First of all, the canon establishes that at Tours the Bread of the Eucharist was placed in or, more likely, on the altar. The rest of the canon brings up many questions of interpretation. Some scholars have suggested that "non in imaginario ordine" means "not on the level of images," referring to the "images" on a canopy.[1] But is not imaginario rather an adjective that modifies ordine, so that the translation signifies that the vessels containing the Host should not be placed "in an imaginary line" or a "figurative row" on (or in) the altar,[2] but

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which reads in place of non in imaginario ordine: non in armario. However, neither Mansi nor Hefele, Histoire des Conciles, T. 3, pt. 1, p. 185 mention this alternate version.

[1] Rohault de Fleury, La Messe, II, p. 63, suggests that perhaps the word titulus refers to a ciborium; Du Cange, in his commentary on Paul the Silentiary's Descriptio S. Sophiae in Migne, P.G., 80, pt. 2, col. 2223 interprets the canon to mean that the Body of Christ was not to be placed in the ciborium or tabernacle itself, adorned with gold and silver figures or images, but on the altar.

[2] Hefele, Histoire des Conciles, T. III, pt. 1, p. 185 and n. 6 gives the following as a possible translation:

> the Body of Christ (that is the particles of the consecrated Bread) must not be placed on the altar in any order, and after the fantasy of the priest, but in the form of a Cross.

He also suggests in n. 6 that this canon may be related to the Gallic liturgy which proclaims that the particles of the Host must be arranged on the paten in a manner "à figurer une forme humaine." Whether this could refer to grouped below the "title" (or "glory"?) of the Cross? But where was the Cross?[1]--on the mensa of the altar, below on the front of the altar support as at Ravenna, or, possibly above at the top of a canopy, as at S. Sophia in Constantinople? One recalls the holes, arranged in the form of a Cross, that appeared within the recess of the altar support at S. Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna.

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arranging the particles in the form of a Cross is not clear, but it remains one possibility.

[1] This is discussed by Thiers, Diss. Eccl., p. 129.

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Relief from Pola Casket. Pola, Museo Civico (photo: Alinari)
2. Reconstruction of the Fourth-Century Shrine at St. Peter's, Rome (from Ward Perkins, *The Shrine of St. Peter*, p. 202, fig. 20)
3. Reconstruction of the Second-Century Aedicula over St. Peter's Tomb (from Ward Perkins, *The Shrine of St. Peter* . . ., p. 161, fig. 17)
4. Reconstructed ground plan of the fourth-century canopy over St. Peter's tomb (from Kirschbaum, *Die Graeber der Apostelfürsten*, p. 55, fig. 9)
5. East-west cross section through the surviving remains around St. Peter's tomb (from Ward Perkins, *The Shrine of St. Peter* . . ., p. 150, fig. 15)
6. Medal of the Martyrdom and shrine of St. Laurence (?) (from Styger, *Römische Martyrgrüfte*)
7. Medal of *Gaudentianus*, with a canopy shrine on it. Vatican Museum (drawing: Molly Smith)
8. Monza ampoul #3: reverse (from Grabar, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte*, pl. IX)
9. Monza ampoul #13: obverse (from Grabar, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte*, pl. XXIV)
10. Bobbio ampoul #3 (from Grabar, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte*, pl. XXXIV)
11. Bobbio ampoul #6: detail (from Grabar, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte*, pl. XXXVIII)

12. Bobbio ampoul #15 (from Grabar, Ampoules de Terre Sainte, pl. XLV)

13. Missorium of Theodosius (from Volbach, Early Christian Art, pl. 53)

14. Reconstruction of the mosaic of the palatium from S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna (from Dyggve, Ravennatum palatium sacrum, pl. XVI, fig. 35)

15. Reconstruction of the Lateran fastigium (drawing: Molly Smith)

16. Fragment of sarcophagus from S. Sebastiano, Rome (from Wilpert, I sarcofagi cristiani, Vol. 3, pl. CCLXXXIV, #5)

17. (1) Sarcophagus fragment from Arles, (2) Sarcophagus fragment from Lyons (from Wilpert, I sarcofagi cristiani, Vol. I, pl. XXIX, 1 & 2)

18. General plan of the Lateran basilica, fourth century (from Krautheimer, Corbett, "The Constantinian Basilica of the Lateran in Antiquity," fig. 2)

19. Plan of the basilica of S. Alessandro and surrounding area, Rome (from Marucchi, Le catacombe romane, p. 413, fig. 137)

20. Altar and canopy fragments at S. Alessandro, Rome (Photo: Pont. Comm. di Arch. Sacra)

21. Canopy over grave of the martyr Teodulus (?). Rome, S. Alessandro (photo: Pont. Comm. di Arch. Sacra)

22. Fragments of column and architrave from SS. Nereus and Achilleus, Rome (photo: pont. Comm. di Arch. Sacra)

23. (a) Architrave inscribed with S. Agnese's name. Rome, Capitoline Museum. (b) Fragment of architrave from SS. Nereus and Achilleus. (c) Column fragments from SS. Nereus and Achilleus. (drawings: Molly Smith)

24. Plan of Basilica of SS. Nereus and Achilleus, Rome (from de Rossi, in Bolletino di arch. crist., 1874, pl. IV and V)

25. Remains at the basilica of SS. Simplicius, Faustinus, and Viatrix, Rome (from de Rossi, Roma Sotterranea, Vol. III, pl. LII)

26. Plan of the basilica of SS. Simplicius, Faustinus, and Viatrix, Rome (From de Rossi, Roma sotterranea, Vol. III, pl. XLVI)

27. Column bases inscribed with names of SS. Felix and Philip. Rome, Basilica of S. Silvestro (from Styger, Römische Martyrgrüfte)

28. Plan of Basilica of St. Silvester in catacomb of Priscilla, Rome (from Marucchi, Catacombe romane, p. 541, fig. 187)

29. Section of the basilica of S. Agnese f.l.m. (from Marucchi, Catacombe romane, p. 385, fig. 129)

30. Relief of S. Agnese (?). Rome, S. Agnese f.l.m. (post card photo)

31. Damasian plaque. Rome, S. Agnese f.l.m. (from Styger, Römische Martyrgrüfte)

32. Fragment of architrave from S. Ermete, Rome (from Josi, "Scoperta di due frammenti . . .," fig. 3)

33. Sixteenth-century drawings of the cantharus at St. Peter's, Rome (from Huelsen, "Der Cantharus von Alt-St-Peter," Pl. V)

34. Plan of St. Peter's basilica, Rome (from Volbach, Early Christian Art, p. 14)

35. (a) Architrave from S. Clemente, Rome; (b) Plan of S. Ermete, Rome (after Krautheimer, Corpus . . ., I, pl. XXIX, #1). (Drawings: Molly Smith)

36. Casts of columns and inscription in S. Clemente, Rome (photo: Deutsches Arch. Inst., Rome)

37. Tomb of Cardinal Venerio, Rome, S. Clemente (photo: Anderson)

38. Late fourth-century plan of S. Clemente, Rome (from Krautheimer, Corpus, I, pl. XIX)

39. Reconstruction of the Confession of St. Peter after the remodelling of Gregory the Great (from Ward Perkins, The Shrine of St. Peter, p. 215, fig. 22)

40. (a) Medal of Galerius Maximianus, (b) Medal of Romulus (after Cohen, Medailles impériales, Vol. 7, pp. 102 and 184)

41. Diptych of Clementinus, from Constantinople, 513 A.D. Liverpool, Museum (from Volbach, Elfenbeinarbeiten, pl. 4, #15

42. Diptych of Magnus, from Constantinople, c. 518: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Leningrad, Hermitage (from Volbach, Elfenbeinarbeiten, pl. 15, #24)

43. Panel from Pola Casket. Pola, Museo Civico (photo: Alinari)

44. Relief from the tomb of the Haterii family, perhaps showing a funeral pyre. Rome, Lateran Museum (photo: Anderson)

45. Plan of the churches at Nola in the time of Paulinus (from Chierici, "Cimitile," 1957 fig. 1)

46. Canopy over the tomb of St. Felix at Nola (from Chierici, "Cimitile," 1957 fig. 3)

47. Baldacchino tombs in Sicilian catacombs (from Agnello, "Catacombe di Cava d'Ispica," figs. 2 and 3)

48. (a) Plan and section of canopy and confession at S. Ambrogio, Milan (after Weiland, Altar und Altargrab, p. 138, fig. 22), (b) Plan and elevation of tomb from Ghirza, North Africa (drawings: Molly Smith)

49. Four columns of the sixth century from S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna (from Atti del IV Congr. di Arch. Crist., II, p. 165, figs. 15 and 16)

50. Reconstruction of main altar of S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna (photo: Molly Smith)

51. Sanctuary and Presbytery of S. Vitale, Ravenna (photo: Anderson)

52. Pergola from S. Prosdocimo, Padua (from Zovatto, "la pergola paleocristiana," fig. 6)

53. Left front column of ciborium at S. Marco, Venice (photo: O. Böhm)

54. Plan of Baptistery at Albenga, Italy (from Verzone, L'Architettura religiosa . . ., p. 71, fig. 34)

55. Painting above the Tora niche, Dura Synagogue (from Kraeling, Excavations at Dura Europas, pl. XVI)

56. Stone placque from Pekiin Synagogue, Palestine (from Goodenough, Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period, vol. 3, fig. 573)

57. Torah shrine from mosaic, Beth Alpha Synagogue, Palestine (from Goodenough, Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period, vol. 3, fig. 639)

58. Painting in Catacomb of Torlonia, Rome (from Goodenough, Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period, vol. 3, fig. 817)

59. Stone relief from Tomb I at Marisa, Palestine (from Goodenough, Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period, vol. 3, fig. 53)

60. Torah screen of Capernaum Synagogue, Palestine (from Goodenough, Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period, vol. 3, fig. 479)

61. Etchmiadzin, Patriarchal Library, cod. 229, fol. 5: Tholos (from Nordenfalk, Die spätantiken Kanontafeln, pl. 24)

62. (a) Fountain of Life from the Godescalc Gospels, (b) Fountain of Life from the Gospels of St. Medard of Soissons (from Nordenfalk, Die Spätantiken Kanontafeln, pl. 39)

63. Etchmiadzin, Patriarchal Library, cod. 229: Christ enthroned with Saints (from der Nersessian, Armenia and the Byzantine Empire, pl. XX, fig. 2)

64. Etchmiadzin, Patriarchal Library, cod. 229, fol. 1 v.: second page of prologue to canon tables (from Nordenfalk, Die Spätantiken Kanontafeln, pl. 16)

65. Plan of the early fifth-century church at the shrine of St. Menas near Alexandria, Egypt (from Ward Perkins, "The Shrine of St. Menas," pl. XI)

66. Stûma paten. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum (from Rice, Art of Byzantium, pl. 69)

67. Pyx from Basilewsky Collection. Leningrad, Hermitage (after Cabrol-Leclercq, D.A.C.L., vol. 3, part 2, fig. 2920)

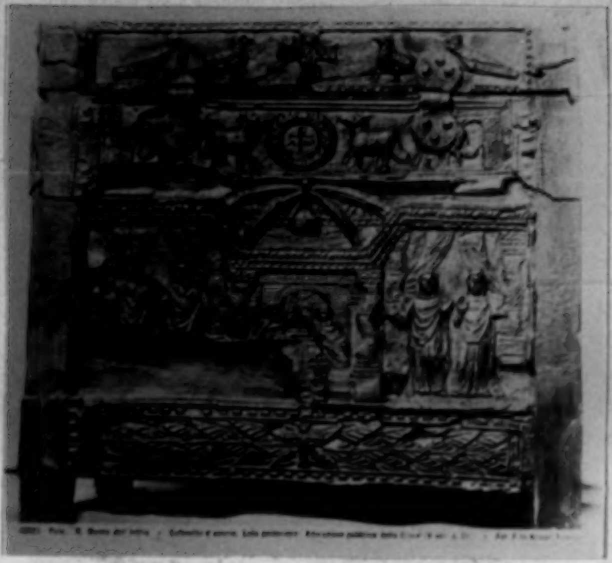
68. Pyx, sixth century. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (from Volbach, Elfenbeinarbeiten . . ., pl. 55, #177)

69. Mosaic in dome of St. George, Thessalonika (Volbach, Early Christian Art, fig. 124)

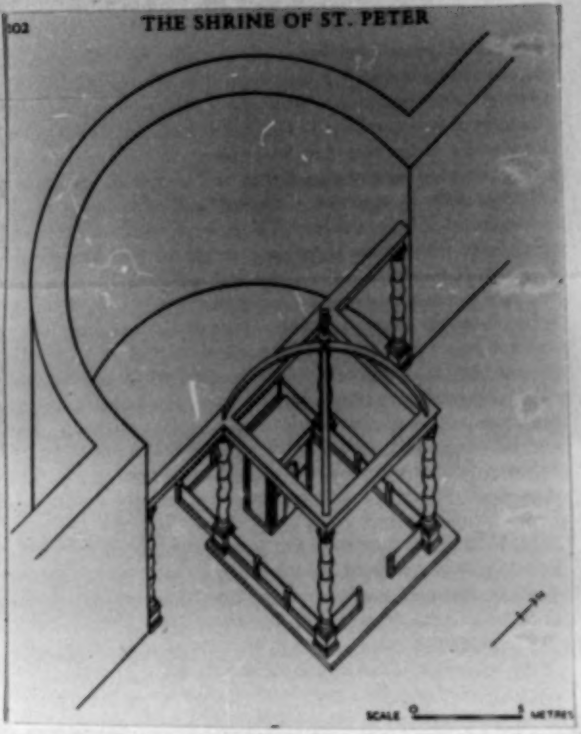
70. (a) Mosaic from dome of St. George, Salonika (after Texier and Pullan, Byzantine Architecture, pl. XXX); (b) Reconstruction of Hemispherium at the "Martyrium," Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem (after Davies in A.J.A., vol. 61, 1957, pl. 66) (drawings: Molly Smith)

71. (a) Main altar from S. Giovanni Evangelista, Ravenna; (b) Altar from chapel in S. Giovanni Evangelista, Ravenna; (c) Altar from S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna (drawings: Molly Smith)

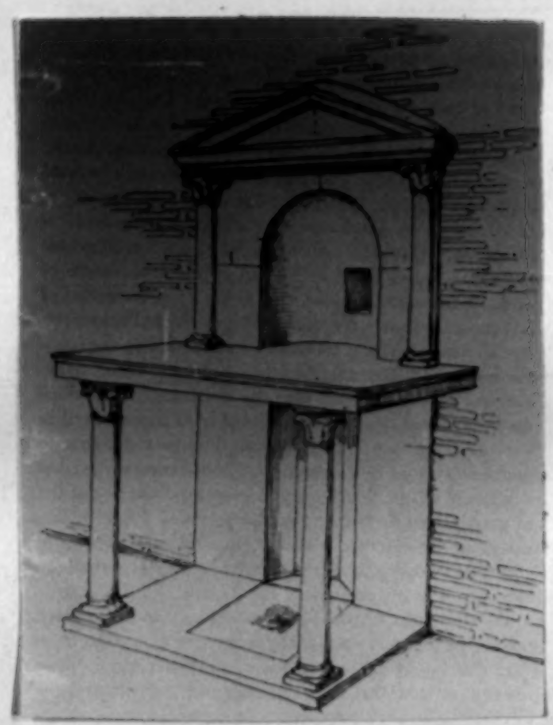
72. Sanctuary of the Temple of Clitumne, Spoleto (from Frutaz, "Il Tempietto di Clitumne," fig. 12)



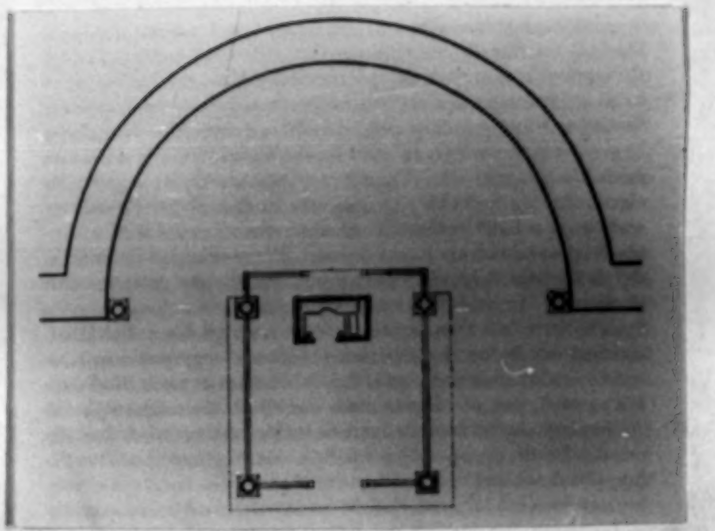
1. Relief from Pola Casket.


302
THE SHRINE OF ST. PETER
SCALE 0 3 METRES

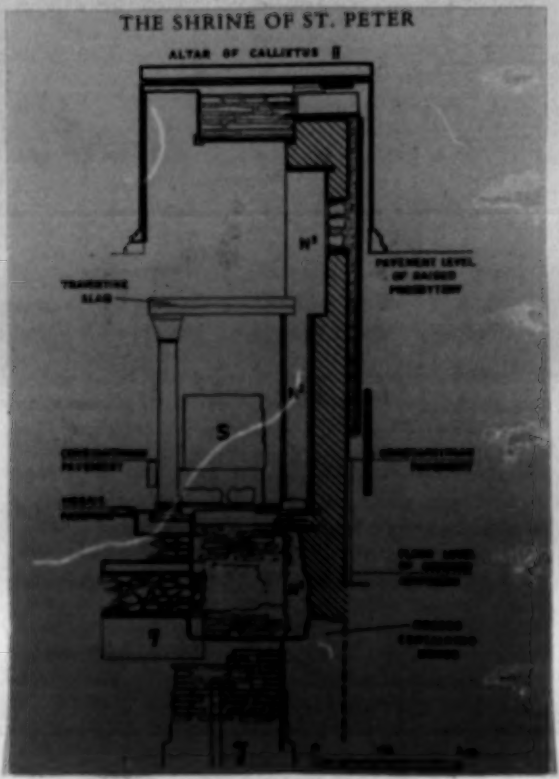
2. Reconstruction of the 4th-Century Shrine, St. Peter's.



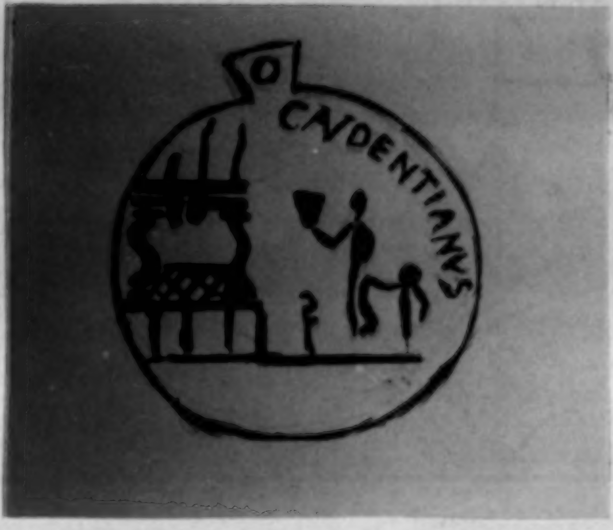
3. Reconstruction of the 2nd-Century Aedicula over St. Peter's Tomb.



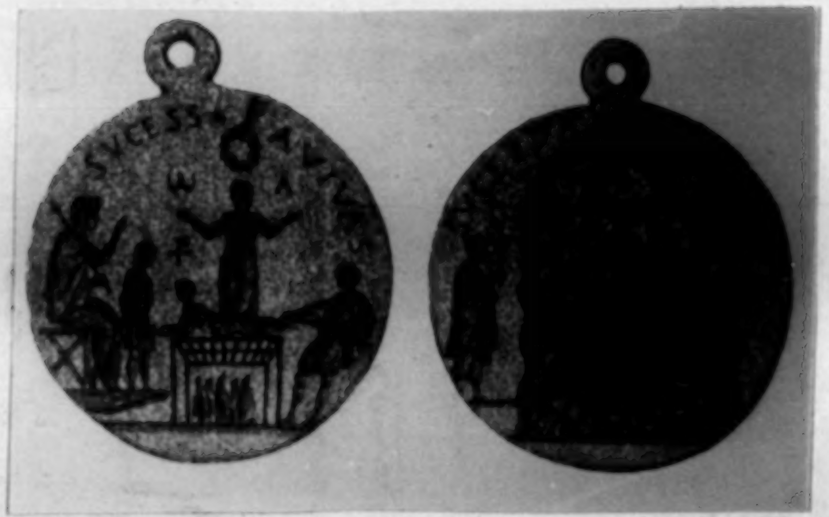
4. Reconstructed ground plan of the 4th-century canopy over St. Peter's tomb.


THE SHRINE OF ST. PETER
ALTAR OF CALLIXTUS II
TRAVERTINE SLAB
PAVEMENT LEVEL OF RAISED PRESBYTERY
N
S
7
7

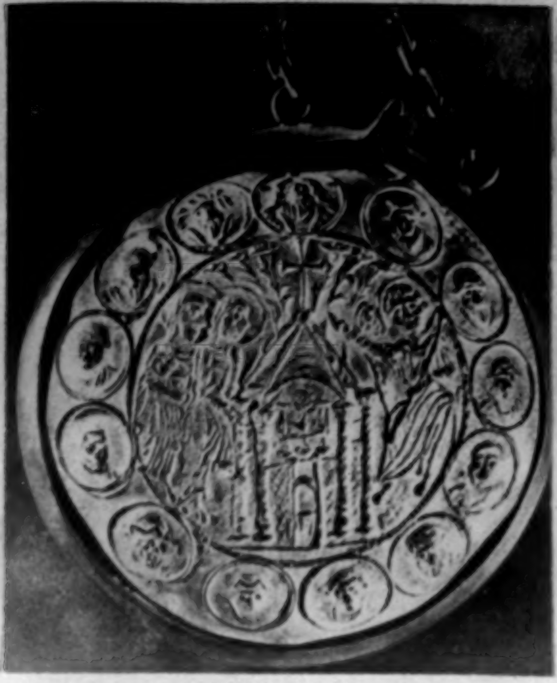
5. East-west cross section through the remains around St. Peter's tomb.


GAVDENTIANVS

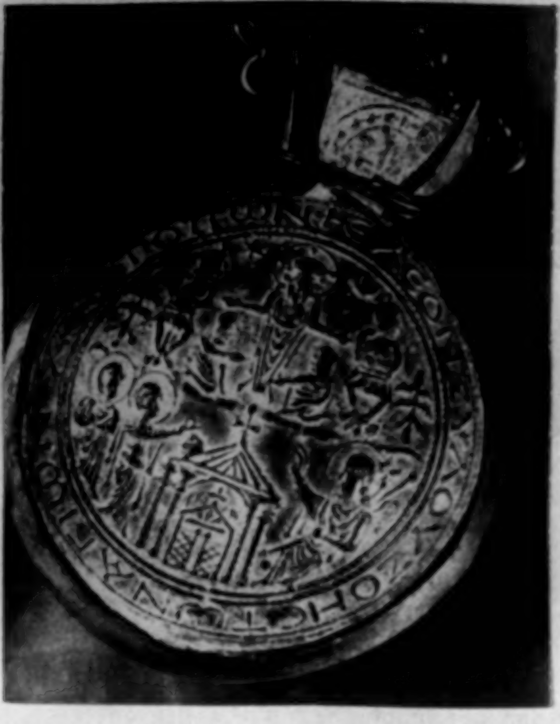
7. Medal of Gaudentianus. ~~and shrine of St. Laurence (?).~~


SVCCESSA VIVAS

6. Medal of the martyrdom and shrine of St. Laurence (?).



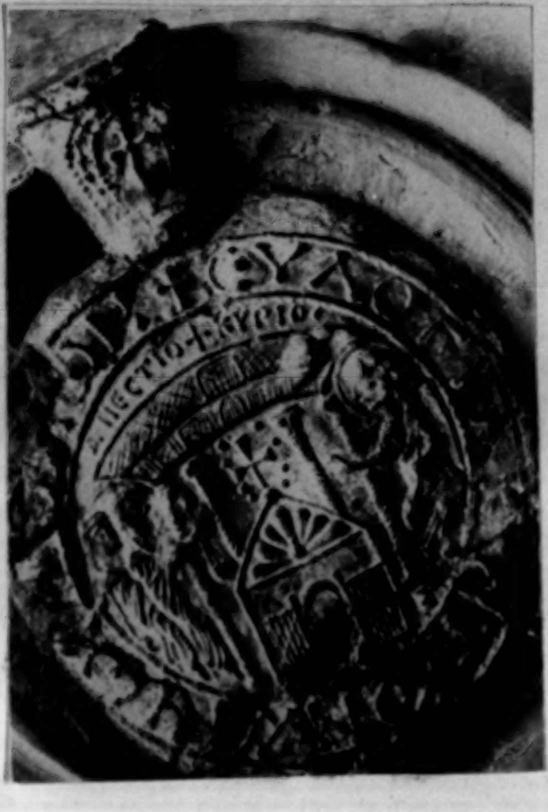
8. Monza ampoul #3.



9. Monza ampoul # 13.

10. Bobbio ampoul # 3.

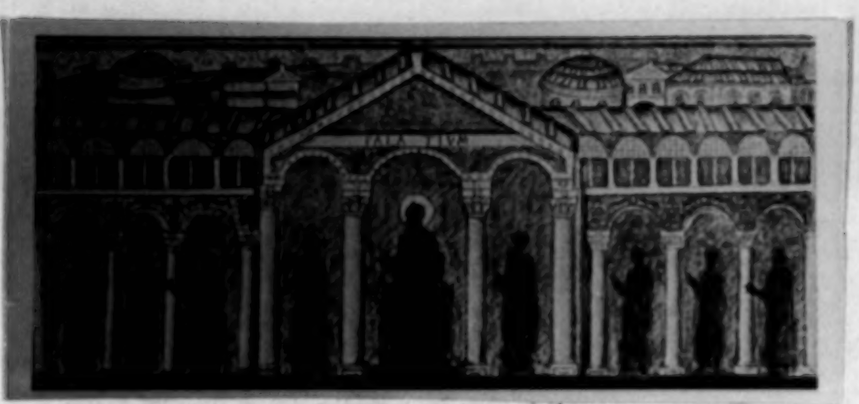
11. Bobbio ampoul # 6.



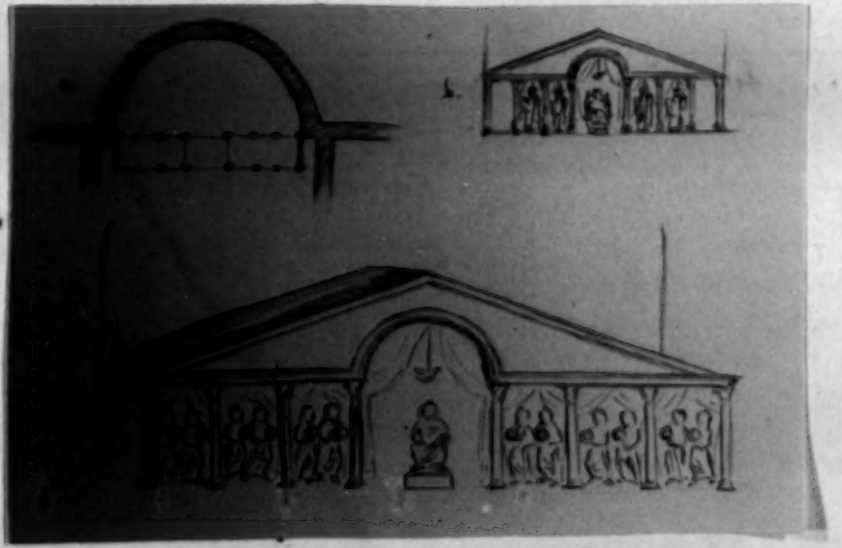
13, Missorium of Theodosius.

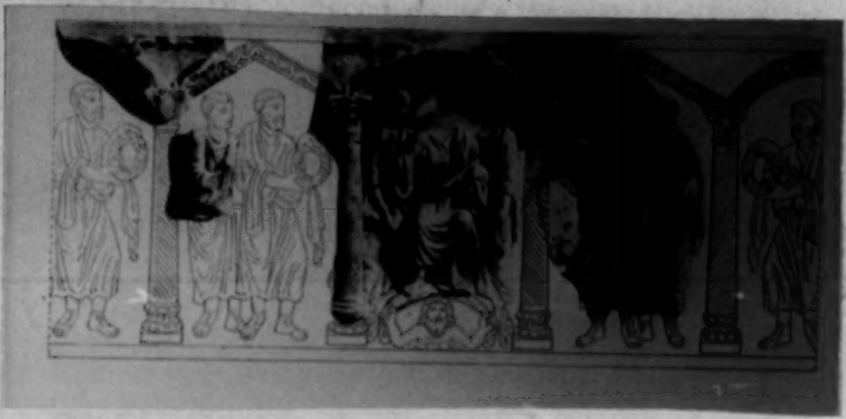
12. Bobbio ampoul
13.

14. Reconstruction of the mosaic of the *palatium* , S. Apollinare Nuovo.

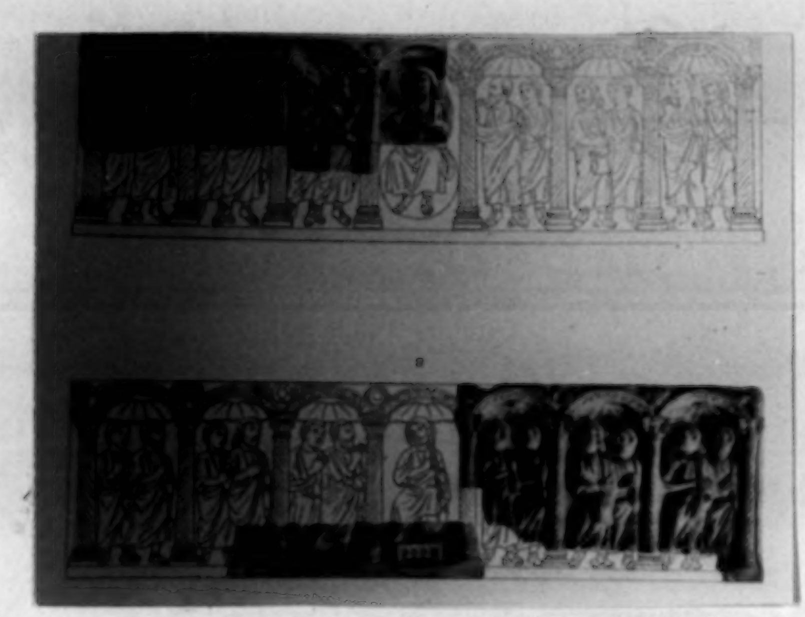


15. Reconstruction of the Lateran *fastigium* (drawing: Molly Smith).

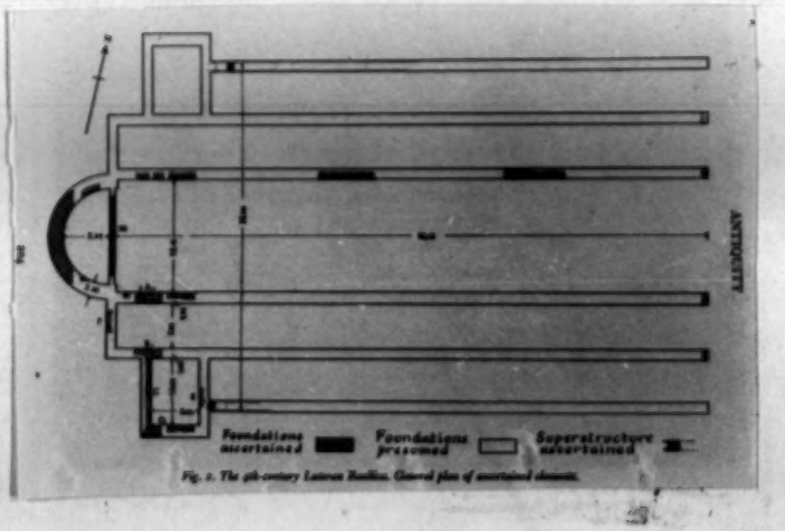




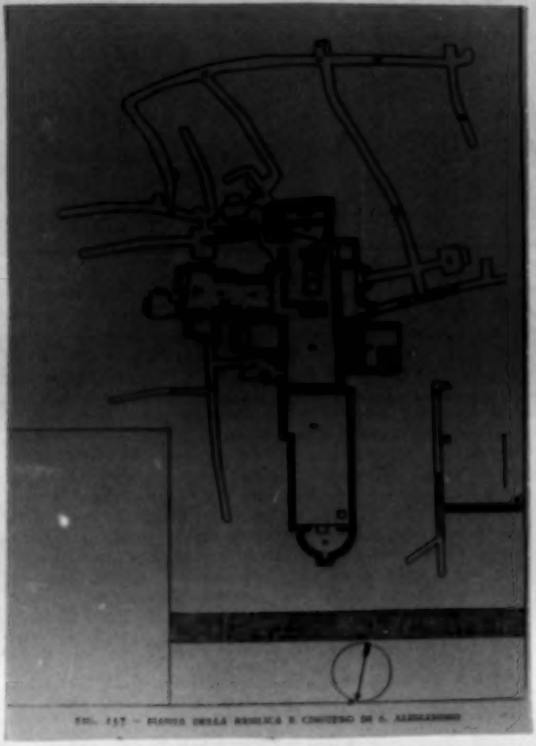
16. Fragment of sarcophagus from S. Sebastiano, Rome.



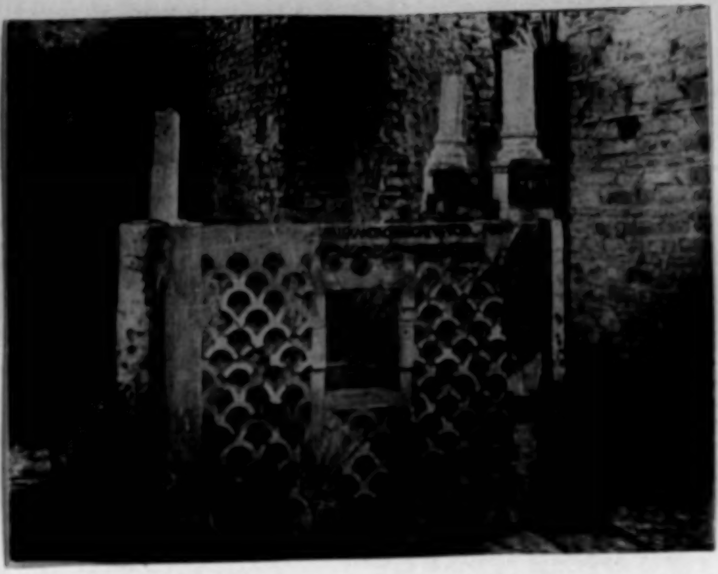
17. (1) Sarcophagus fragment from Arles, (2) Sarcophagus fragment from Lyons.


ANTIQUITY
Foundations ascertained
Foundations presumed
Superstructure ascertained
Fig. 2. The 4th-century Lateran Basilica. General plan of ascertained elements.

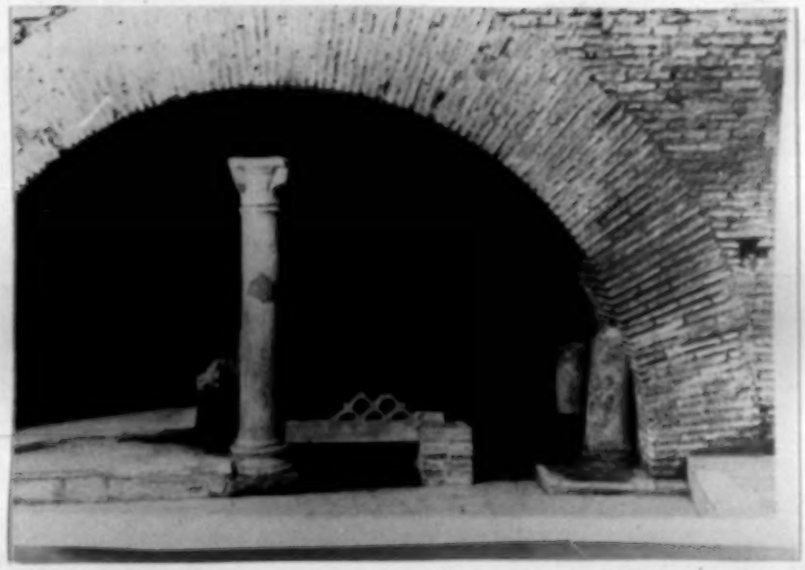
18. General plan of the Lateran basilica, 4th century.



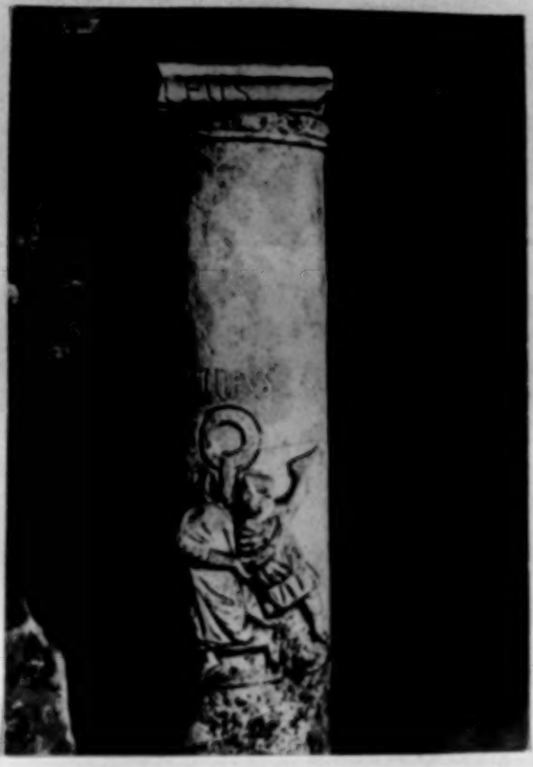
19. Plan of the basilica of S. Alessandro and surrounding area.



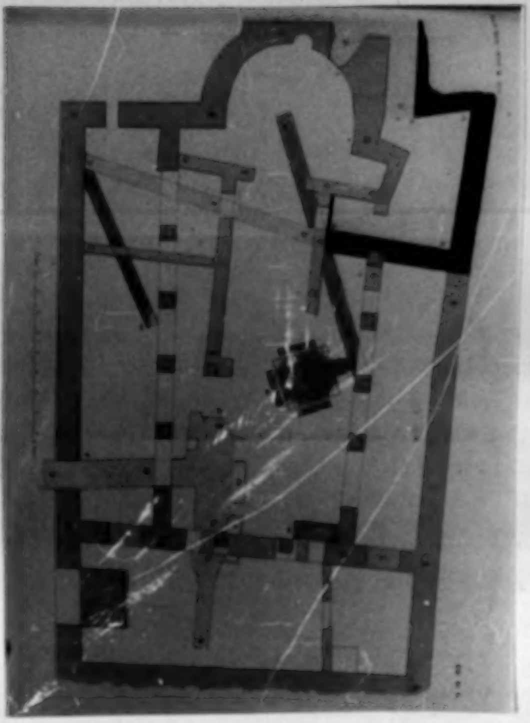
20. Altar and canopy fragments at S. Alessandro.



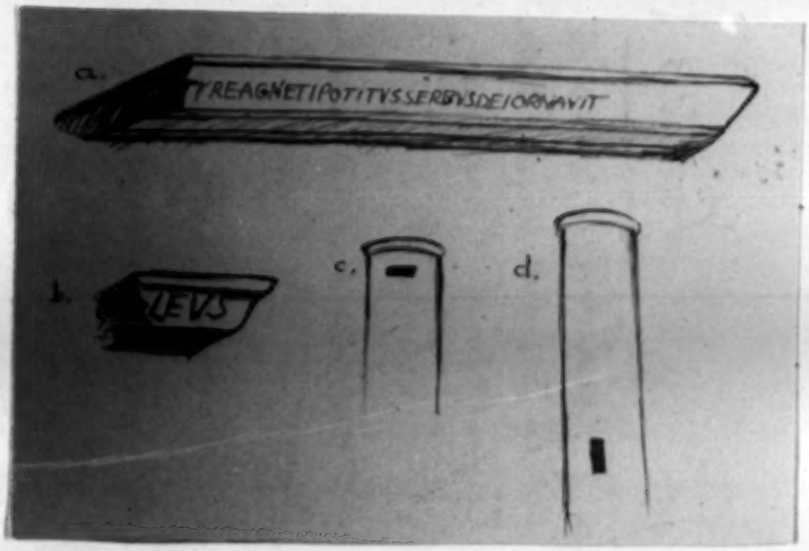
21. Canopy over grave of the martyr Teodulus (?).



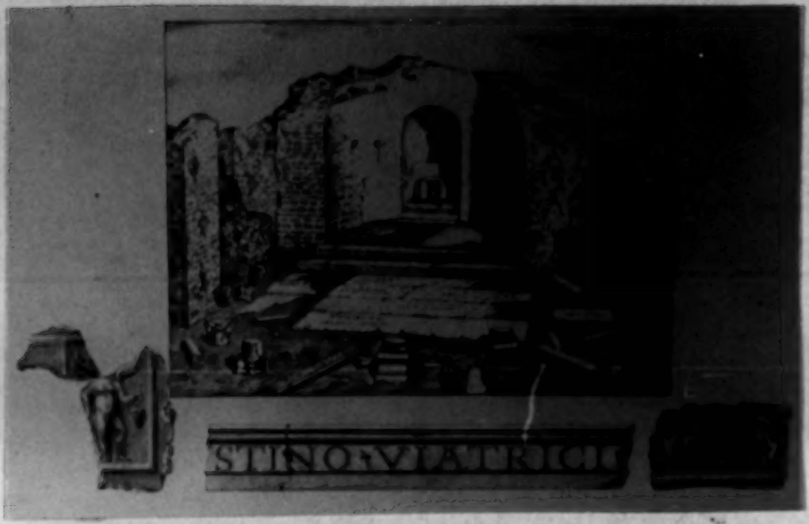
22. Fragments of column and architrave from SS. Nereus and Achilleus.



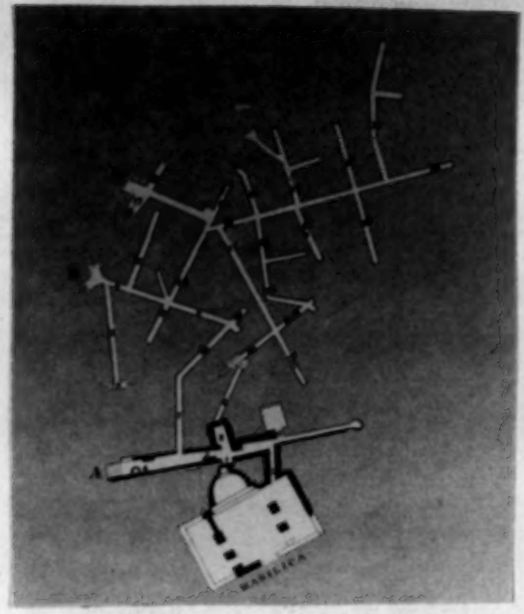
24. Plan of basilica of SS. Nereus and Achilleus.


a.
TREAGNETIPOTITVSSERBVSDEIORNAVIT
b.
LEVS
c.
d.

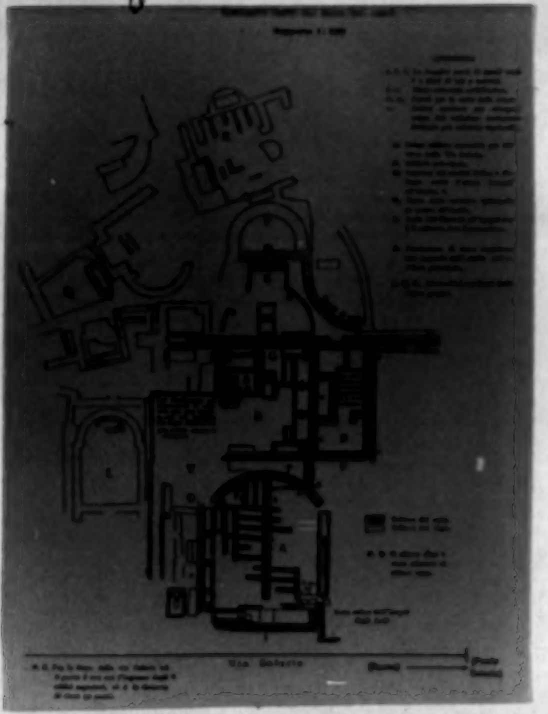
23. (a) Architrave inscribed with S. Agnese's name, (b) Fragment of architrave from SS. Nereus and Achilleus, (c and d) Column fragments from SS. Nereus and Achilleus.


STINO·VIATRICI

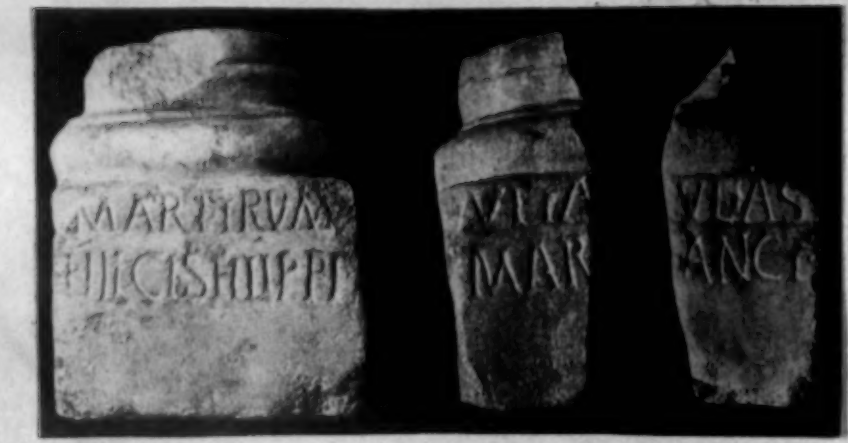
25. Remains at the basilica of SS. Simplicius, Faustinus, and Viatrix.



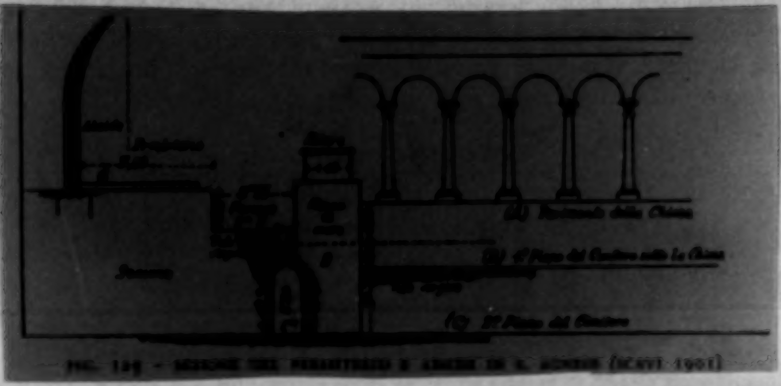
26. Plan of the basilica of SS. Simplicius, Faustinus, and Viatrix.


Via Salaria

28. Plan of basilica of S. Silvestro in catacomb of Priscilla.

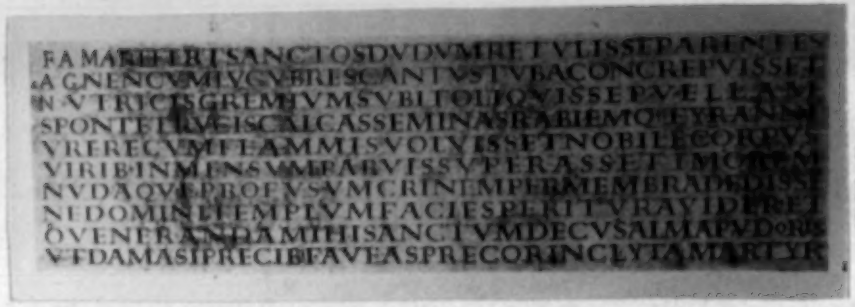

MARTYRUM
FELICIS PHILIPPI
MAR
ANC

27. Column bases inscribed with names of SS. Felix and Philip.


(a) Pavimento della Chiesa
(b) Il Piano del Cimitero sotto la Chiesa
(c) Il Piano del Cimitero

29. Section of the basilica of S. Agnese f.l.m.

30. Relief of S. Agnese (?).

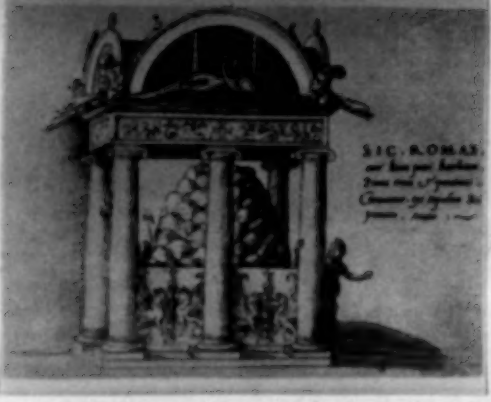


FAMAREFERTSANCTOSDVDVMRETVLISSEPARENTES
AGNENCVMLVGVBRESCANTVSTVBACONCREPVISSET
NVTRICISGREMIVMSVBITOLIQVISSEPVELLAM
SPONTETRVCISCALCASSEMINASRABIEMQ·TYRANNI
VRERECVMFLAMMISVOLVISSETNOBILECORPVS
VIRIB·INMENSVMPARVISSVPERASSETIMOREM
NVDAQVEPROFVSVMCRINEMPERMEMBRADEDISSE
NEDOMINITEMPLVMFACIESPERITVRAVIDERET
OVENERANDAMIHISANCTVMDECVSALMAPVDORIS
VTDAMASIPRECIBFAVEASPRECORINCLYTAMARTYR

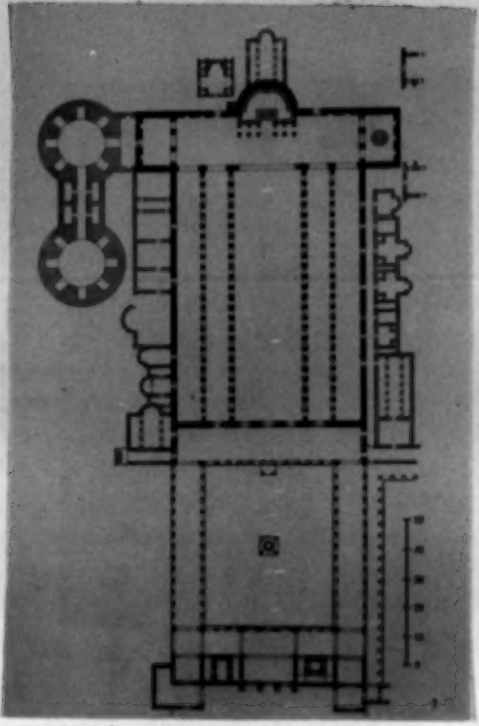
31. Damasian plaque, S. Agnese f.l.m.

32. Fragment of architrave from S. Ermete.

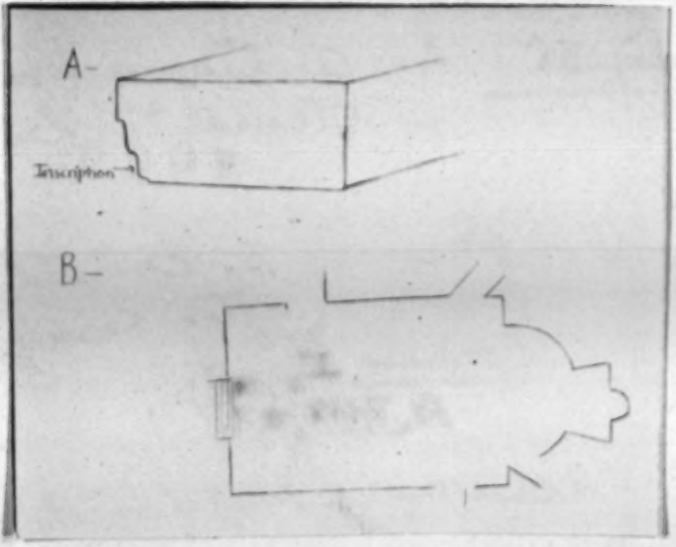
1. ZEICHNUNG DES CRONACA, FLORENZ, UFFIZI



33. 16th-century drawings of the cantharus, St. Peter's.



34. Plan of St. Peter's basilica.



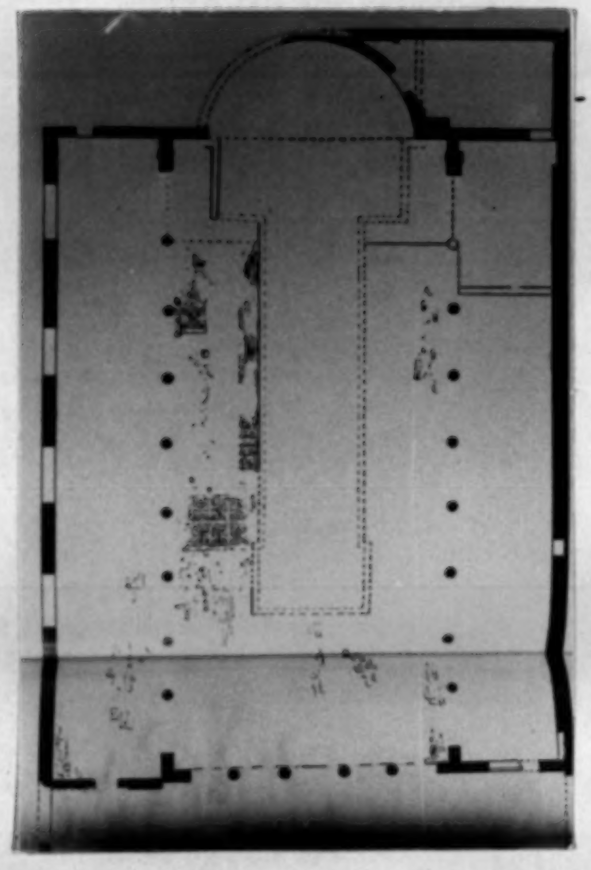
A-
Inscription
B-

35. (a) Architrave from S. Clemente, (b) Plan of S. Ermete.

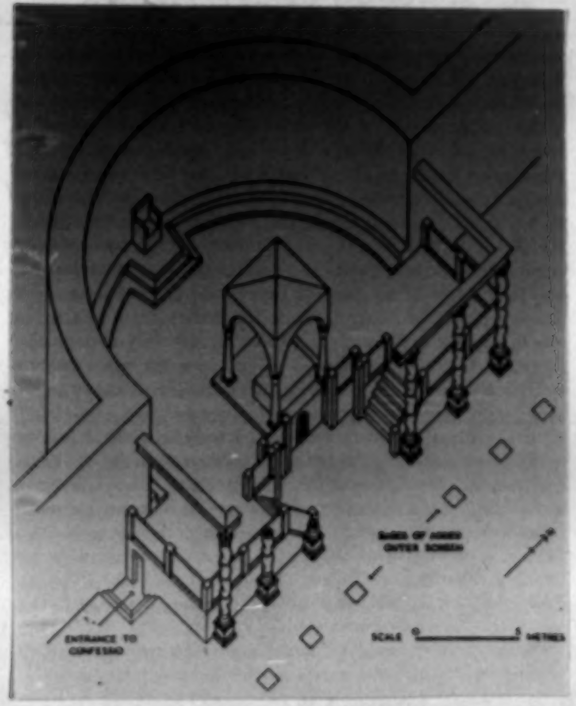
ALTARETIBI
SERBY
AEOFF

36. Casts of columns and inscription, S. Clemente.

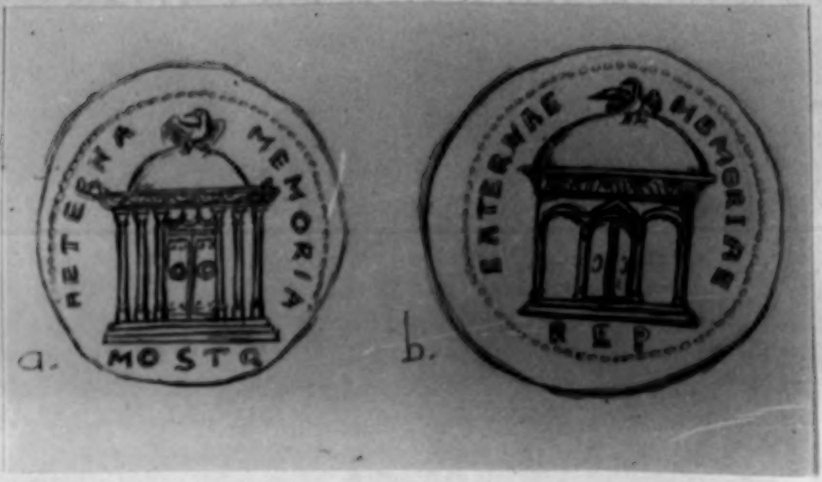
37. Tomb of Cardinal Venerio, S. Clemente.



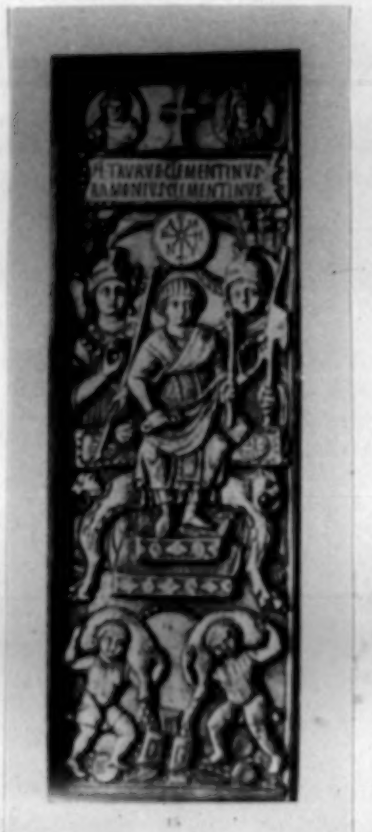
38. 4th-century plan of S. Clemente.


BASES OF ADDED OUTER SCREEN
ENTRANCE TO CONFESSIO
SCALE 0 5 METRES

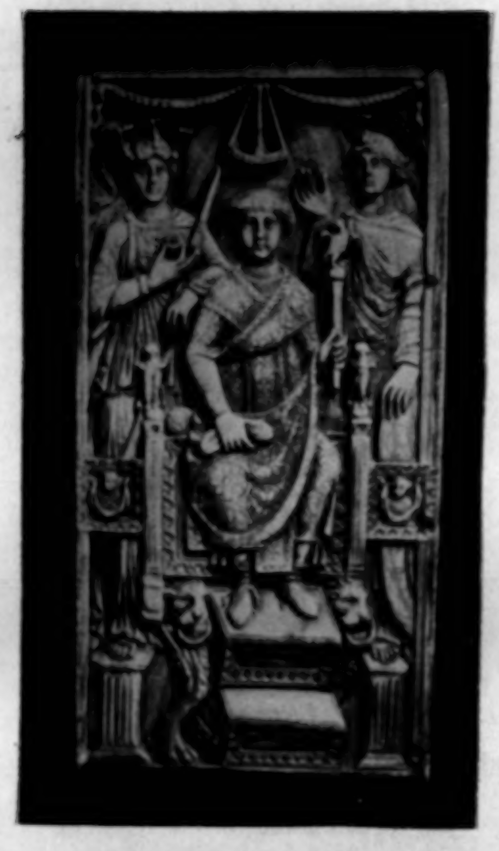
39. Reconstruction of confession of St. Peter after remodelling of Gregory the Great.


AETERNA MEMORIA
MOSTR
a.
AETERNAE MEMORIAE
REP
b.

40. (a) Medal of Galerius Maximus, (b) Medal of Romulus.



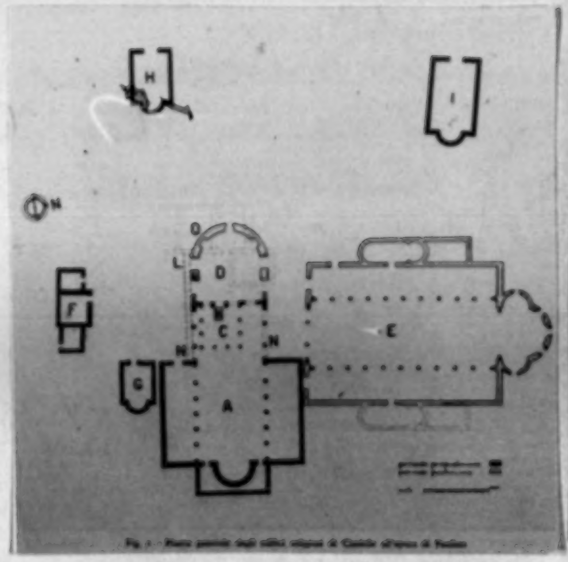
41. Diptych of Clementinus.



42. Diptych of Magnus.

43. Panel from Pola Casket.

44. Relief from the tomb of the Haterii family.


H
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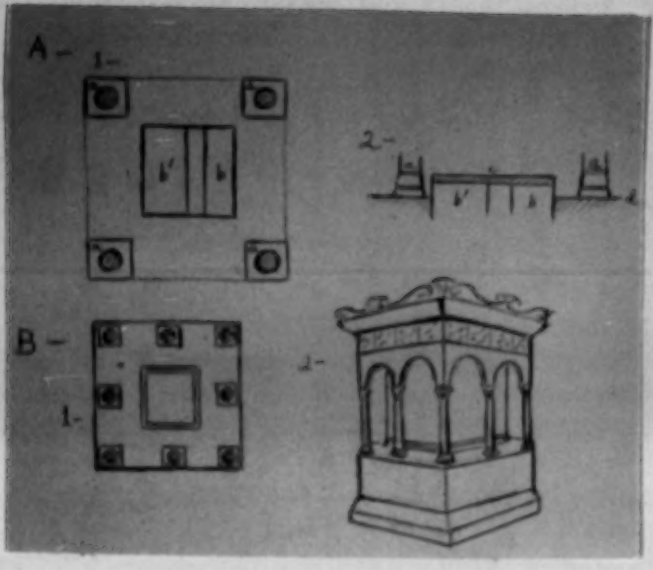
E

45. Plan of the churches at Nola.

46. Canopy over the tomb of St. Felix at Nola.

47. Baldacchino tombs in Sicilian catacombs.



48. (a) Plan and section of canopy and confession at S. Ambrogio, Milan.
(b) Plan and elevation of tomb from Ghirza.

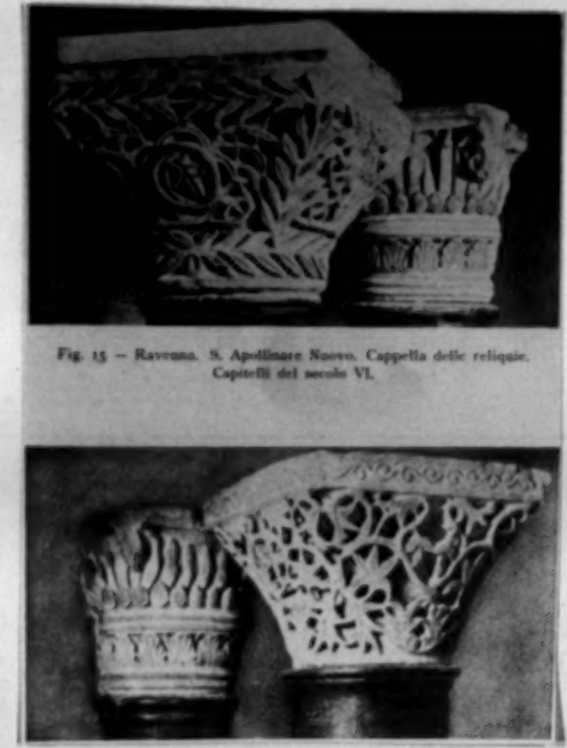
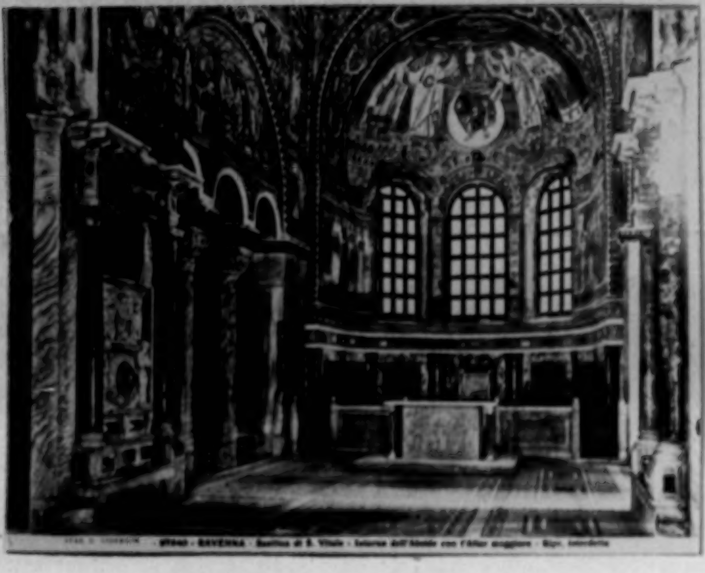


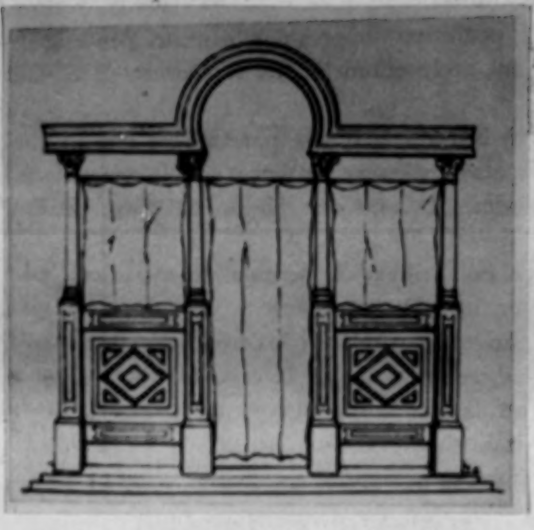
Fig. 15 – Ravenna. S. Apollinare Nuovo. Cappella delle reliquie. Capitelli del secolo VI.

49. Four columns from S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna.

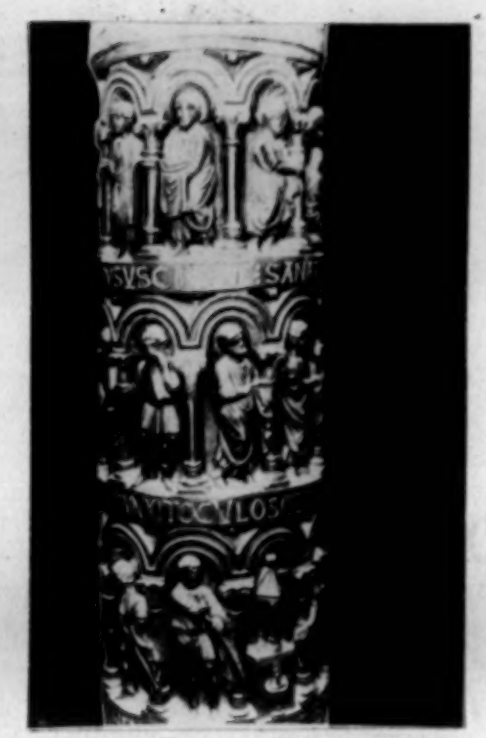
50. Reconstruction of main altar of S. Apollinare Nuovo.



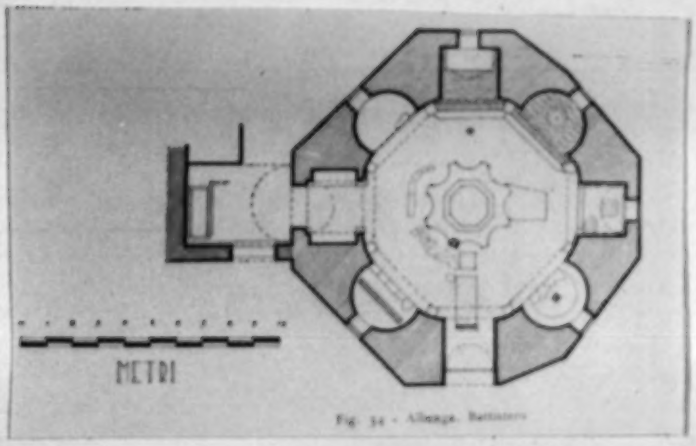
51. Sanctuary and presbytery of S. Vitale,



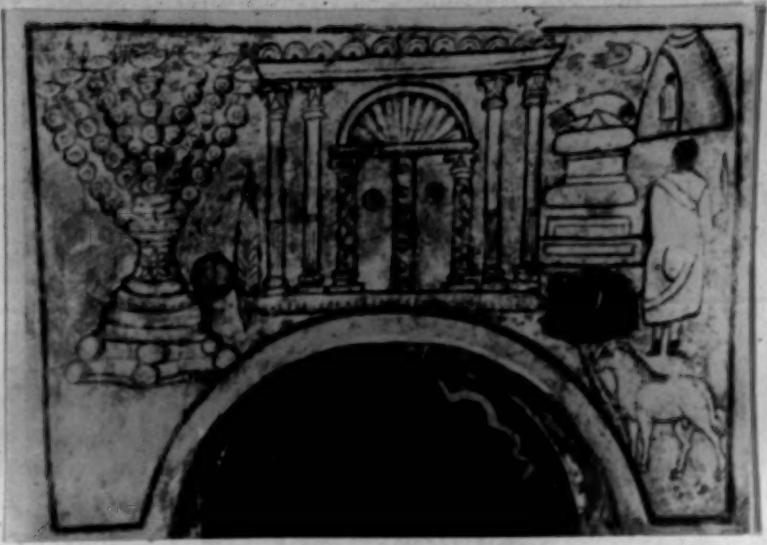
52. Pergola from S. Prosdocimo, Padua.



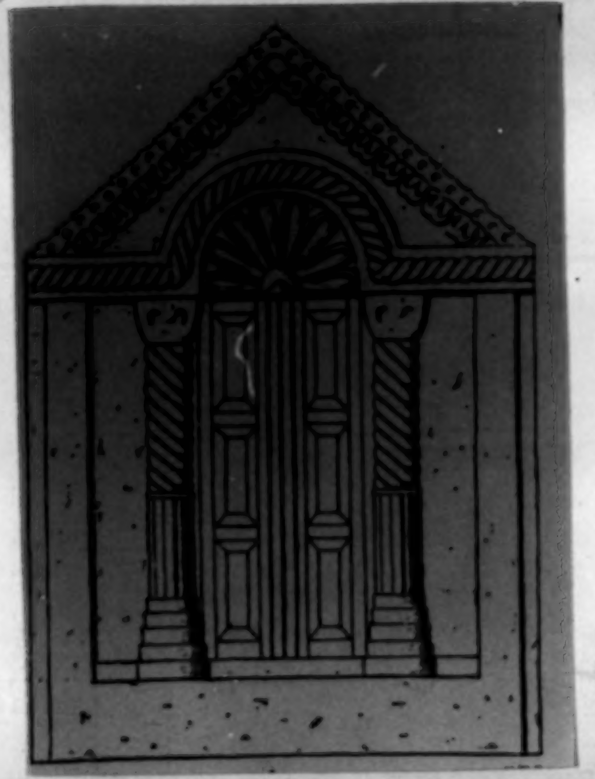
53. Left front column of ciborium at S. Marco, Venice.



54. Plan of Baptistery, Albenga.

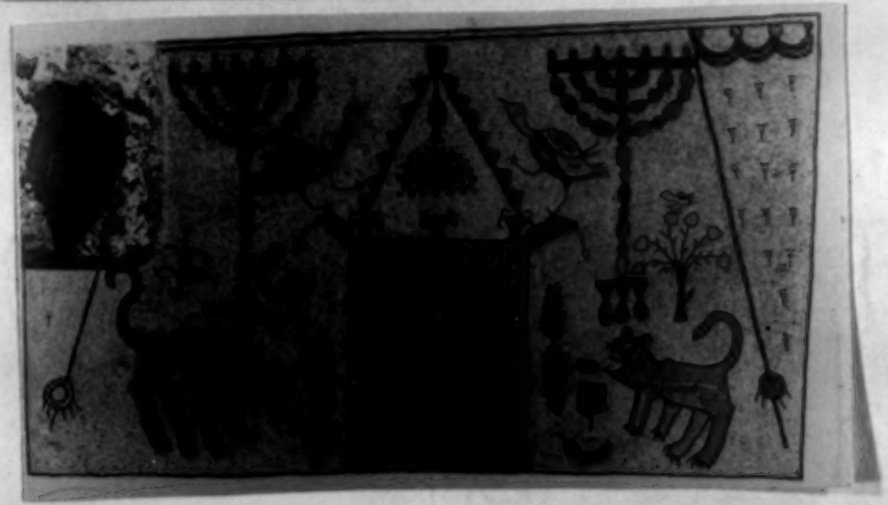


55. Painting above the Torah niche, Dura Synagogue.



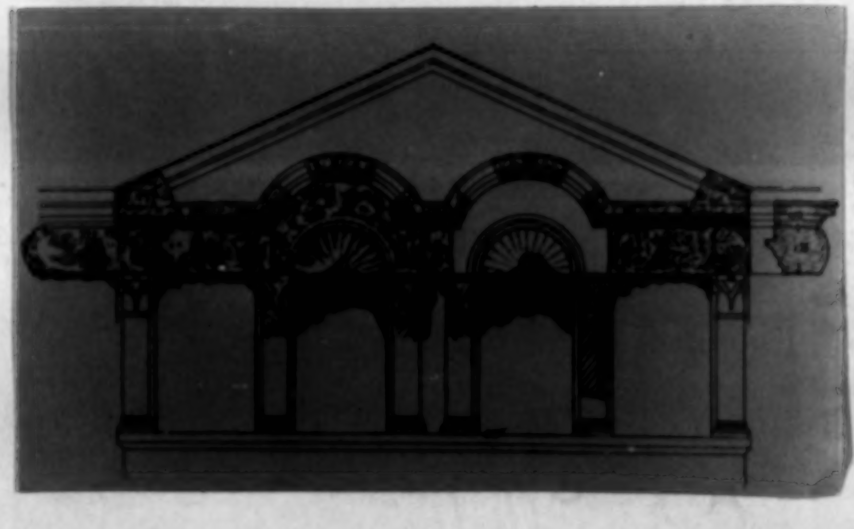
56. Stone plaque from Pekiin Synagogue.

57. Torah shrine, from mosaic, Beth Alpha Synagogue.

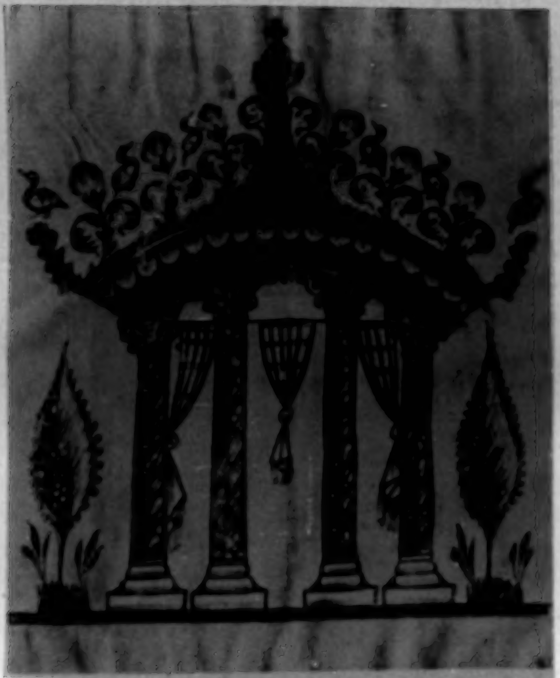


58. Painting in catacomb of Torlonia, Rome.

59. Stone relief from Tomb I, Marisa.



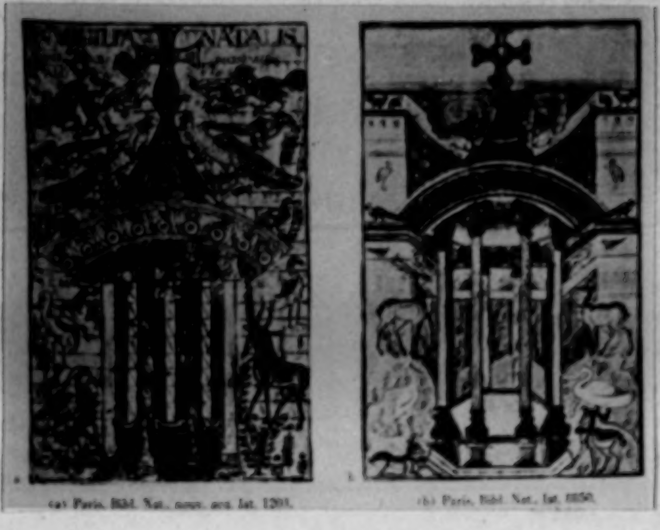
60. Torah screen of Capernaum Synagogue.



Phot. F. Macler

Etschmiadzin, Patriarchalbibliothek, cod. 229, fol. 5b: Schlußseite. Armenien, anno 989.

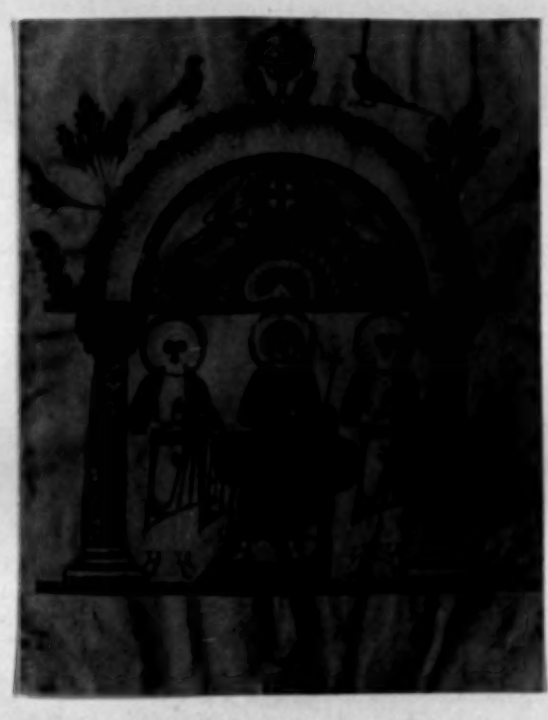
61. Etschmiadzin Gospels: Tholos.



(a) Paris, Bibl. Nat., nouv. acq. lat. 1203.

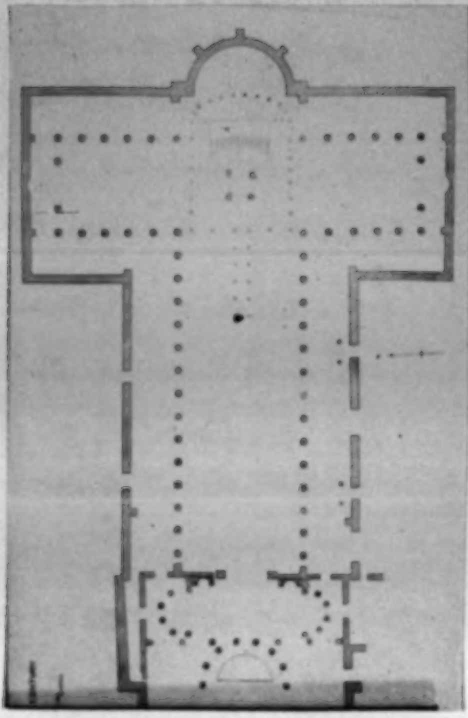
(b) Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 8850.

62. (a) Fountain of Life, from Godescalc Gospels, (b) Fountain of Life, from Gospels of St. Medard of Soissons.



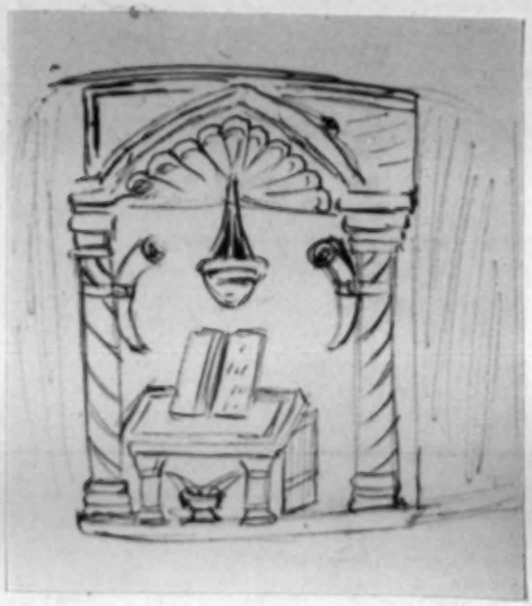
63. Etschmiadzin Gospels: Christ enthroned with Saints.

64. Etschmiadzin Gospels: second page of prologue to Canon Tables.

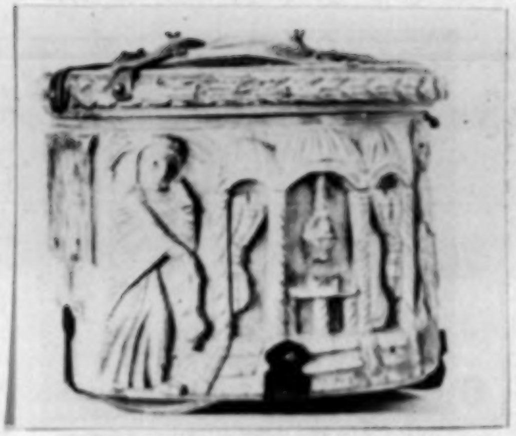


65. Plan of the early 5th-century church of St. Menas.

66. Stuma paten.

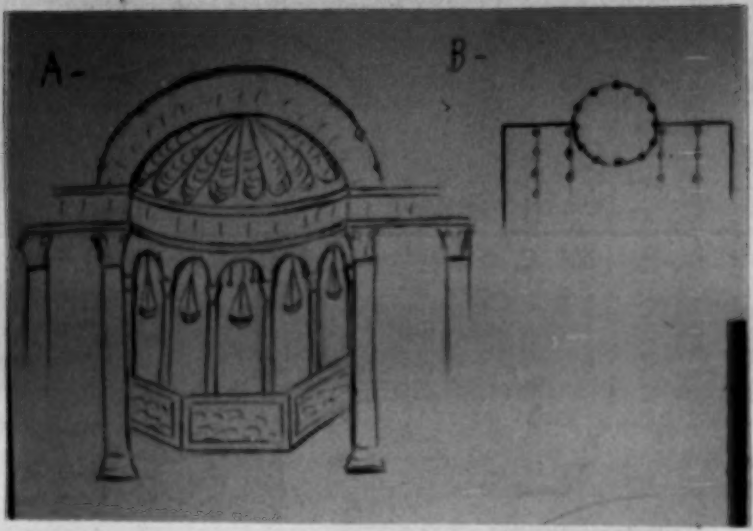


67. Pyx from Basilewsky Collection.

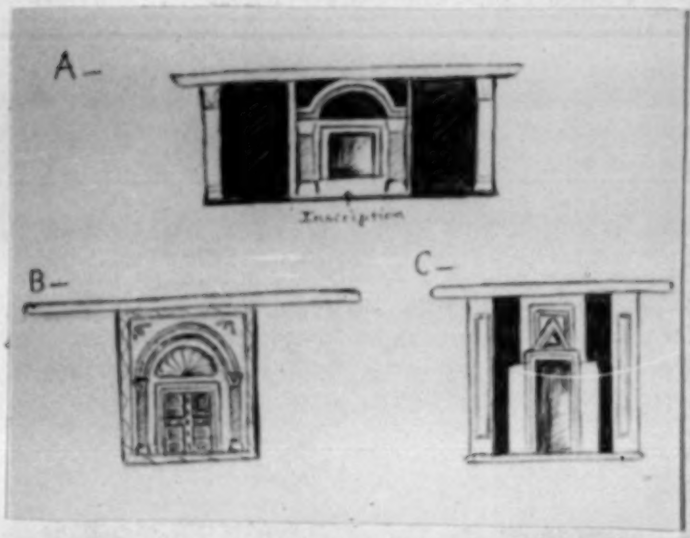


68. Pyx, Metropolitan Museum.

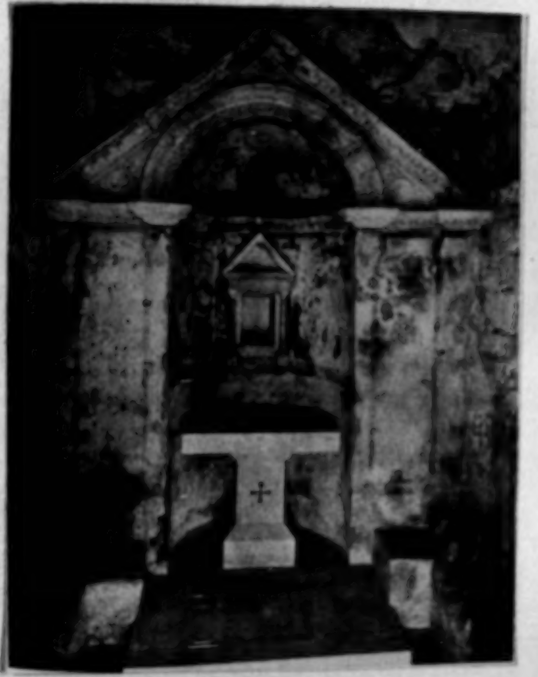
69. Mosaic in dome of St. George, Salonika.



70. (a) Mosaic from dome of St. George, Salonika, (b) Reconstruction of *Hemispherium*, Holy Sepulchre.



71. (a) Main altar from S. Giovanni Evangelista, (b) Altar from chapel in S. Giovanni Evangelista, (c) Altar from S. Apollinare Nuovo.



72. Sanctuary of the Temple of Clitumne, Spoleto.